NRA CODE

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXL NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1935 No. 3647

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 613
EDITORIALS:
The Wagner Bill and the NRA 616
Stabilization—on What Terms? 617
President Butler Explains 617
The South Replies 618
ISSUES AND A WOMAN. JANE ADDAMS AND HER LEAGUE. By Oswald Garrison Villard 619
CARTOON: SAFETY FIRST. By LOW 620
BIRTH CONTROL AND OBSCENITY By Raymond Gram Swing 621
HOLLYWOOD PLAYS WITH FASCISM. By Carey McWilliams 623
THE WHISPERER. By Mark Van Doren 624
BEHIND THE SAKDALISTA UPRISING. By Samuel Weinman 625
HOW NOT TO STOP LYNCHING. By William Seagle 626
THE INTELLIGENT TRAVELER. TRIPS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. By John Rothschild 627
CORRESPONDENCE 628
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 630
LABOR AND INDUSTRY:
"Like One of the Family." By Heywood Broun 631
Toledo Thriller. By A. J. Muste 632
BOOKS AND FILMS:
Men and Women. By Joseph Wood Krutch 634
The Function of Literature. By Clara Gruening Stillman . . . 634
The Village. By Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch 635
Statesman in Uniform. By Oswald Garrison Villard 635
Metaphysics and Naivete. By Lionel Abel 636
A Proletarian Artist. By Suzanne La Follette 637
Shorter Notices 637
Films: Through the Closet Door. By William Troy 640

BOARD OF EDITORS
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
RAYMOND GRAM SWING CHARLES ANGOFF
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
MARGARET MARSHALL MAXWELL S. STEWART
DOROTHY VAN DOREN

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—DOMESTIC: One Year $5; Two Years $8; Three Years $11. CANADIAN: 50 cents a year additional. FOREIGN: $1 a year additional. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of subscriber's address.

THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1935, by the Nation, Inc.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. Walter F. Grueninger, Circulation Manager. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

A NEW MOONEY CASE has been presented to the country by the Supreme Court in its refusal to interfere with the conviction of Angelo Herndon, the Negro Communist who was sentenced in Georgia to from eighteen to twenty years in prison. The court declined to consider the merits of the case but dismissed the appeal, by a six-to-three division, on the technical ground that the defendant was tardy in asserting his constitutional rights in the Georgia courts. The dissenting opinion, read by Justice Cardozo, and supported by Justices Brandeis and Stone, took an exactly opposite view of the same point. Thus, on a disputed issue of procedure, a man is being sent to spend the best part of his remaining years on a Georgia chain gang. It is not conceivable that the conviction would have been upheld, even in a conservative high court, if the case itself had been reviewed. The trial in 1932 was a gruesome exhibition of mob pressure and race and class hatred openly employed in court, and the savage sentence was protested by one or two courageous newspapers even in Georgia itself. The charge of "inciting to insurrection" was based on Herndon's activity in organizing a peaceful march of unemployed workers, black and white, and of possessing radical literature. The assistant solicitor prosecuting the case unconsciously characterized the whole procedure when he said it was a trial not of Herndon but of "Lenin, Stalin, Trotzky, and Kerensky." The decision of the Supreme Court puts a final seal of approval on one of the most indefensible examples of "class justice" so far recorded in this country.

THE WAGE SCALE set for the 3,500,000 "employables" on the new government-works program can only be interpreted as a frontal attack on the American standard of living. Fearful lest the wages paid for relief work should compete with those paid in low-standard industries, the President has adopted a policy which cannot fail to have a depressing effect on industrial wages throughout the country. At present the average wage in manufacturing industries is approximately $21 a week, or $91 a month. Automobile workers are among the highest paid with $28 a week, while employees of the cotton-goods industry in the South are near the bottom with an average of $10.29 a week for male workers. Low as these figures are, they are from 45 to 100 per cent higher than the wages to be paid for comparable work in the new government program. The highest wage—$94 a month—is to be reserved for professional and technical men in urban districts of the Northern states. Skilled labor is to be paid from $35 to $85 a month, depending on the locality; while unskilled labor is to receive from $19 a month in rural districts in the South to $55 in the North. The most that can be said for the program is that the wage rates in the highest category compare favorably with existing relief allotments. The worst feature is the enormous differential between the North and the South and between urban and rural areas, a differential that is far greater than can be justified on the basis of comparative living costs. Of course men are not compelled to work for these miserly wages. They are still at liberty to stand by their constitutional right to starve.

WHILE POLITICIANS row over the details of a new tax program, more than a million persons on the Illinois relief rolls have been brought face to face with actual starvation. On May 1 the regular FERA allotment of $9,000,000 was held up by order of Harry L. Hopkins, pending action by the state to raise its share of the relief funds. With a genius for political ineptitude Governor Horner, a Democrat, sought to raise the needed funds by increasing the state sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent, only to have his plan rejected four times by an embattled Republican minority in the legislature. The proposed sales tax is particularly indefensible in view of the fact that Illinois is one of the few large and well-to-do states which have not adopted an income levy. For the first week in May there was little suffering, since funds held over from the previous month could be used. During the second week, however, many down-state communities were forced either to suspend relief or to place the jobless on emergency rations. By the end of the third week relief operations were practically at a standstill in all sections of the state, including Cook County, and thousands of social workers had been thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. In some counties actual starvation is being prevented by means of funds raised locally, but in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many places no aid of any sort is forthcoming. More than a thousand eviction notices have been presented in Chicago alone within the past few days, and thousands of others are being prepared. As we go to press the legislature is considering the sales tax for the fifth time, with the possibility that it may pass. But no last-minute action can absolve the government of responsibility for the needless mental and physical suffering of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims of the depression.

THE FUTILITY of trying to assure loyalty by passing laws has been demonstrated in Czecho-Slovakia. Two years ago the government suppressed the German Nationalists and the Nazis because they refused to avow belief in democracy and national unity. A young German gymnasium teacher, Herr Henlein, thereupon founded the Sudeten German Party, with himself as *Führer*. It paid ardent lip service to democracy and unity, but was indistinguishable from the National Socialists across the German border. In the election this eighteen-months-old party piled up 1,294,000 votes, the largest number received by any party in the country, and will have forty-four seats in Parliament, one less than the Agrarians. Since there are only 3,500,000 Germans in Czecho-Slovakia, the success is due not only to the racial issue. The tide is turning to the extremes, as it did in Germany before the triumph of Hitler. The Socialists, according to early returns, lost only one of their thirty-nine seats; the Communists hold their entire thirty. The German Social Democratic Party, heavily backed by the Prague government, fell from twenty-one to eleven, and Dr. Benes's purely democratic National Socialists dropped four and the Catholics three. A straight Fascist Party, also new on the scene, sends six men to the chamber. The result is an unhappy omen for democracy in Central Europe. The Prague government so far has handled its minorities with considerable skill, and appeared to be strong enough to escape disaster. But fascism is a rising force and democracy is on the defensive. From Vienna comes the unpleasant warning that Czecho-Slovakia must now draw closer to Austria, since they face the same Nazi danger. The democracy of Austria is as specious as that of Herr Henlein. So was the democracy of Dr. Brüning before the final Hitler victory. We hope Czecho-Slovakia will not have to repeat the pattern.

WORD REACHES US from Washington that Attorney General Cummings is grooming Wayne Johnson for the district attorneyship of New York. There are plausible political reasons for his appointment, such as his efforts to wipe out the debt of the Democratic state committee and his utter reliability, from the standpoint of big business, in the administration of the stock-exchange law and, if it passes, the holding-company act. Mr. Johnson is well known as a representative of sugar, copper, and steel corporations. His activities have made him a wealthy man, but the reward of wealth is what they have entitled him to; they have not fitted him for public service. We should consider his appointment the victory of special interests, by grace of Mr. Cummings and Mr. Farley. However convenient it would be for Mr. Farley, if he runs for governor in New York, to have this wealthy ally in a key position, the law should be enforced by a man dissociated from the interests which he is expected to control.

OPPOSITION of Father Coughlin's League for Social Justice to the Banking Bill of 1935 will have been considerably reduced by Secretary Morgenthau's casually introduced statement before the Senate committee that he approves government ownership of the stock of the Federal Reserve banks. The President clinched this little victory by at once supporting the idea, and Father Coughlin duly told his radio listeners that this was what he and they wanted. The actual ownership of the stock of the Federal Reserve banks is not, however, a realistic issue. The policy of these banks is no longer determined by the need to earn dividends on their common stock, and it is inconceivable that it ever should be. But the formality of ownership appears to matter a great deal to Father Coughlin, and quite as much to the financial reactionaries who are frightened by any mention of government control of credit. So far as formalities go, we too, prefer outright government ownership. The meat of the banking bill is the power it gives the government to control open-market operations, hence to increase or decrease the amount of that money which is represented by bank deposits. Senator Glass and other opponents of the social state know that this is the end of control of credit by bankers themselves, which is why they oppose it and why we favor it.

DESPITE THE APPOINTMENT of arbitrators by both sides, the Abyssinian crisis shows no sign of abatement. The war spirit is definitely in the ascendancy in Italy. The *Giornale d' Italia* refers to Abyssinia's "incapacity to comprehend and assimilate the elementary values of civilization," and adds significantly that recognition of the "European value of Italy as a civilized nation . . . signifies to recognize also these necessities of Italy in East Africa and her rights of defense." Mussolini has served fair warning that he will brook no outside interference regarding "the character and volume of our precautionary measures." With the rainy season already well under way, there is little danger of an immediate outbreak of hostilities. It is not even probable that any large portion of Italy's 900,000 soldiers will be transported to Africa until fall, when the weather will be much more favorable. But as far as Mussolini is concerned, the die is already cast. Negotiations may continue throughout the summer, but they will be mere formalities. The powers will probably put up some show of resistance, but are unlikely to intervene actively. The one hope of averting war is that the League will be forced into a position where it must act to save its very existence. It is still possible that the smaller countries may see in Abyssinia's plight a reflection of their own future if they are unable to goad the Council into action. But Italy has chosen its time carefully, and the chances are that desire for continued Italian cooperation against Hitler will outweigh more general considerations of international justice.

THE FUTURE POLICY of the South African government with respect to the native population is clearly indicated in two bills recently brought forward by a Joint Select Committee of both houses of Parliament—the Native Representation bill and the Native Trust and Land bill. With their passing the status of the South African native will be legally established on a permanently lower level than at present. More than eleven thousand natives still vote in the Cape Province under the old Cape franchise system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Under the new bill no additional names of native voters may be added to the register in the Cape, and in the rest of the country natives will remain voteless as heretofore. The Native Representation Council to be set up is a cynical concession to appearances. It is to have only advisory powers and will consider only native matters. Even its advisory functions will be limited by the careful exclusion of any possibly critical elements. The Native Trust and Land bill creates a board of white trustees who will purchase fourteen million acres of land for native settlement on avowed segregation lines. Nothing is said as to the quality of the land to be purchased, nor is there any provision in the draft bill for the adequate schooling of the natives to be settled in the new areas—or in the old areas, for that matter—or for social services or agricultural training and assistance. The bills reveal all too clearly the determination of the South African government to keep the natives politically helpless and economically hopeless, so that they may continue to provide an unfailing supply of cheap labor for the farms and the mines and otherwise remain out of sight and out of mind.

ONE ASPECT of the pacts between the Soviet Union and its Continental bourgeois neighbors—an agreement with Czecho-Slovakia has now been added to the list—is the dilemma confronting the Communist movements in those countries. When Stalin told Laval that he had sympathy for France's policy of security, he cut the ground from under the resistance of French radicals to French militarism, and though they have decided to carry on their struggle they cannot hope to show the same spirit. Capitalist governments, if they get into a war in which Russia is their ally, will be reasonably insured against the danger of a general strike by radical labor. The defense of pacifism would seem to be left to non-resisters. In making its foreign pacts and in entering the League, the Kremlin is moved by an urgent consideration, the need for at least a few years of peaceful development. The price it is paying is the weakening of the ties of international communism. The Soviet leaders must have given the subject their most searching consideration. They may have felt that they could themselves choose whether they would be party to any war for capitalist ends. But in Communist theory all wars, unless waged against fascism as such, or for the Communist Revolution as such, are capitalist wars, and the course chosen is obviously a compromise, made like all other earnestly adopted compromises in the hope that more good will be done than harm. The judgment on this policy cannot be written until Russia, if it does secure peaceful development, shows how in its foreign policy it can become again a Communist state.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION in the United States continues to demonstrate its reactionary social outlook. The House of Delegates of the Medical Society of the State of New York, representing 14,000 physicians, at its annual meeting in Albany adopted a series of resolutions most of which would win the approval of the United States Chamber of Commerce. It passed without debate a resolution opposing all forms of state insurance against sickness, and it also came out against "the so-called medical-service bureaus . . . which solicit and contract with patients to furnish medical service." Some of these bureaus are undoubtedly rackets, and the state legal forces have been quick to track them down, but many others—and they are increasing in number—are manned by reputable physicians banded together to offer honest medical service to persons of moderate means. The House of Delegates lumps both groups together and damns the good with the bad. The one progressive move which the convention made was the adoption of a resolution calling upon the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association to make a study of all the problems relating to contraception. This is said to be the first time that a large local professional group has even urged "recognition" of the question of birth control.

GOVERNOR LEHMAN has signed the McCall anti-nudism bill providing that a person who disrobes in the presence of two or more persons of the opposite sex who are similarly unclothed is guilty of a misdemeanor. Former Governor Smith, Tammany Hall, the Catholic church, and the more puritanical elements of the Protestant churches, all favored the bill, and argued that it was necessary for the protection of public morals. We cannot accept their logic or subscribe to their fears. There are enough laws against indecent exposure, and those who attempt to carry on an immoral business under the guise of nudism can easily be dealt with. But the sincere practitioners of nudism deserve the protection of society as do members of other harmless cults. The bill opens the door wide to professional snoopers. It is also juridically unsound, because as the Reverend Ilsley Boone, executive secretary of the International Nudist Conference, has said, "the guilt of a person lies not in the action of a guilty individual but in the action of a third party entirely beyond his or her control. . . . If a man and his wife were taking a sun bath in the nude on a river bank and a youngster came along and took off his clothes, the woman, but not the man or the boy, would be guilty of violation of the law."

THE PROMULGATION of self-disciplining rules by the Columbia Broadcasting System is a welcome sign that American broadcasting is emerging from its infancy. It is the first indication that broadcasting executives are thinking in a constructive way about their obligations to the public, and are not simply absorbed by the opportunity to make money out of a sensational invention. The limitation of advertising talk to 10 per cent of programs in the evening and 15 per cent in the daytime will be such a boon to listeners that it is sure to pay the advertiser. And the reform of children's programs, under the supervision of a psychologist, will relieve many homes of anxiety. The claim for American broadcasting that it is the one system guaranteeing free speech is of itself not enough to justify the unsatisfactory nature of many programs. By no means everything has been bad, but the good things seem to have been given reluctantly or to have happened accidentally, and the bad things have been taken for granted. Private broadcasting will only survive if it performs its service intelligently, and the range of possibilities has not been explored or even imagined. The new Columbia rules are the first intimations of the application of intelligence to the problem, and we commend them to NBC and to all private stations. We also urge the Columbia executives to examine the unlimited field of service and proceed. They have made only a modest beginning.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Wagner Bill and the NRA

THE victory of the Wagner labor-disputes bill in the Senate is as gratifying as it is unexpected. We did not foresee such an easy success, nor did anyone in Washington, Senator Wagner included. It is an overwhelming vote for a vital democratic principle, but it does not, we regret to say, reflect a sudden philosophical awakening among Senators. It must be explained as the outcome of a complex political pressure. The Senate, in the Clark resolution, had passed a death sentence on the NRA, to take effect after a restricted existence until next April. Labor had been fighting for the NRA's untrammeled life for a full two years. Having killed the NRA the Senate had to do something to appease labor. Appeasement lay conveniently at hand in the Wagner bill, and it was adopted. The two chief attacks on the bill were in an amendment by Senator Tydings, which would penalize coercion of workers to join labor unions, and one by Senator Robinson, which would leave to the management-minded Department of Justice the prosecution of violations. When Senator Tydings could rally only twenty-one votes for his amendment, all opposition collapsed, and only twelve Senators went on record as opposed to the bill. The result testifies to the strength of organized labor as a group of voters, since the Senate knew they had to be satisfied. But as the strategy was to be the reverse only a few weeks before—the Wagner bill was to be killed and the NRA to be extended—the result cannot be read as evidence that any great conviction was behind the passage of the bill.

Many who would like to remain admirers of the President must be wondering why he did not sponsor this bill and give himself the credit of a victory for his leadership. It would have been consistent with his original policy in establishing the NRA, for he then saw that the weight of concentrated industrial and financial power had to be balanced by equal power for labor if democracy was to be safe. But he did not sponsor the bill openly; he was content to give it a whispered blessing very much "off the record." After playing the game of the right throughout the winter he was not going to let his right hand know what his left hand was doing. This may be good tactics but it is not good strategy. When the President runs for reelection he would find it an asset to be able to ask the support of labor on the ground that he had helped write its new charter.

The President, however, has grown so obscure as to be suspected of mental reservations even when he is most outspoken. One ought to be able to accept the veto of the Patman bill on its face value. The President breaks precedent by delivering the veto message in person, and in language which even overstates the danger of this specific inflation. As a result, Congress may not override the veto, and this will somewhat brush up the President's prestige. But if it overrides the veto, it still will not weaken him much. Have not Jesse Jones and Marriner Eccles testified that this amount of inflation would do little harm? And did not Vice-President Garner, after his fishing trip with the President, say he still was for the bonus? He is even reported to be advising Senators that to pass it over the veto would be doing the President a service by taking the issue once and for all out of politics. We do not imply that the veto of the bonus is insincere. But it is much less impressive than if the President had not been so politically secure in delivering it. He is eating his cake and having it too. If the veto is overridden, his party will not suffer at the polls. If it is sustained, the Republicans can be trusted not to campaign next year for immediate payment, and he still is safe. We wish the President might be as unprecedented and eloquent when there is something more at stake.

Will he be equally fervent in backing the extension of the NRA? We doubt it. He has already told Senator Harrison that he will accept the Clark resolution if he can get nothing better. To say this is to say that he is resigned to see ended the most spectacular of his social experiments. Certainly it is no notice of a fight. Much of that experiment, in our opinion, had better end, but not all of it. The courageous course would be for the President to assert himself in favor of saving the minimum-wage and labor standards of the NRA, and to insist that they be saved not for a few months but for a full two years. The Wagner labor-disputes bill is no substitute for them, and even if it passes the House, as it probably will, the law will still be unenforceable throughout industry until reviewed by the Supreme Court. Labor would be wide open to a reduction of standards, and would be delayed for at least a year in its urgent task of organization. This is obvious to everyone, yet the talk about ending the NRA is confined to the discussion of how face may be saved for the Democrats who created it. What Congressmen do not appreciate is that the Wagner bill gives the NRA the balance it did not secure through Section 7-a, and so makes it at once a safer experiment. If the President and Congress had a clearer social philosophy they would recognize that now they have the starting-point for a reconstruction of the NRA, and not a setting for a death-bed scene. It may be that the Supreme Court will insist on the death drama, gauging its legal exactitudes by the barometer of political sentiment. But Congress would do well to continue passing realistic social legislation until the Supreme Court finds a new reading of the barometer. Another point in favor of continuing the NRA is that its life beyond June 16 will be lived without the guidance of Donald Richberg, whose retirement from the NIRB was one of the conditions laid down by labor in its recent public reconciliation with the President's Number One adviser. We believe much of the suspicion of the NRA in the minds of Congressmen and the public arises from the feeling that Mr. Richberg has not sufficient single-mindedness to be permitted to influence the destinies of so important an agency.

For our part we should be content to see the NRA abolished if minimum standards can be safeguarded in some other legislative form, the enforcement of the anti-trust law being left to the Federal Trade Commission. But if it is to be prolonged, let it be on a social basis, with the clear support of the President, and under the chairmanship of a man who does not regard a vital administrative decision as the occasion for making concessions to big business.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stabilization—on What Terms?

SECRETARY MORGENTHAU'S assertion that the United States is no longer an obstacle to an international currency agreement is encouraging as evidence that the Administration is open to reason on this question, but the credulity with which it has been received reveals an abysmal ignorance of the fundamental conditions of exchange stability. Restoration of the international gold standard involves far more than encouraging statements by Mr. Morgenthau or Neville Chamberlain. First of all, it necessitates the establishment of definite ratios between the various currencies. These cannot be set arbitrarily but must approximate exchange quotations on the date of settlement. Such an agreement would be futile, however, without some assurance that these ratios could be maintained. And they can be maintained only if the price levels in the various countries bear somewhat the same relationship as the newly established exchange parities. Thus before a stabilization agreement can be concluded, it is essential not only that the exchanges be quiet over a reasonably protracted period but that the price structure of the various countries be relatively stable. Obviously neither of these conditions is even approximated in the world today. American monetary and economic policy remains highly uncertain, while the situation in the "gold" countries is little short of chaotic. The fate of the franc must be settled before a general agreement can even be profitably discussed.

Moreover, stabilization cannot be treated as an isolated problem. An international currency system can only exist when there is a reasonably free flow of capital, goods, and services from country to country. The contrary is equally true. Under the present conditions of monetary instability, no country dares to reduce tariffs or make any drastic move toward economic disarmament. If a genuine international system is to be reestablished, it must be through a concerted attack on economic nationalism in all its forms. Piecemeal measures are likely to be worse than useless, because their failure tends to discredit all international action and thus plays into the hands of extreme jingoistic elements.

Unfortunately there was little in Mr. Morgenthau's speech to suggest that the atmosphere at Washington is favorable to such a comprehensive program. Although the talk was widely heralded as representing a shift in American policy, and was possibly intended as such, it was devoted almost exclusively to an explanation and defense of the Administration's monetary program, with no recognition of its inherent dangers. In tone it was unmistakably nationalistic, giving aid and comfort to those who insist that our national interest would best be served by fixing the value of the dollar as low as possible. As long as this spirit is uppermost, all talk of stabilization is folly. Statesmen dare not make the necessary concessions for fear they be accused of allowing wily foreigners to out-maneuver them in the economic struggle.

In the case of the United States this psychology is doubly dangerous. As a leading creditor this country has everything to gain and nothing to lose by the restoration of world economic stability. If we are to profit by our creditor position it is obvious that we must make some provision for our debtors to pay us. By discouraging imports and subsidizing exports the Administration's monetary policy is in direct conflict with its trade policy, and has accentuated the basic maladjustments in America's economic position. When a large creditor country such as the United States deliberately depreciates its currency in order to stimulate exports, debtor nations, under pressure to accumulate foreign exchange, have no alternative except to follow suit, or to adopt further prohibitive restrictions on trade, thus completing the vicious circle.

This is not to suggest that the United States is the only creditor country which is pursuing a policy of nationalism. France has a greater per capita gold reserve than the United States, and the tariff and monetary policies adopted by the National Government in Great Britain have been fully as isolationist as our own. Nevertheless, the fact remains that over a period of years this country has been the chief offender, and it is idle to talk of economic stability until the Administration is prepared to make far more substantial concessions than have thus far been indicated. It is unnecessary to repeat that we favor stabilization, but we warn against the belief that it can be accomplished by the decision of two or three individuals in official positions, and against bringing pressure on them to negotiate a stabilization for which the groundwork is not laid. Such a stabilization would be sure to break down, and might spell the end of all international economic effort.

President Butler Explains

AMONG the alumni of Columbia University are a number of minor Walgreens just beginning to work themselves into a quiet dither over "subversive influences" on Morningside Heights. Clarence E. Lovejoy, secretary of the Alumni Federation, transmitted to President Butler a memorandum charging that radical activities were "alienating" the loyal sons under his care, and to still their fears the university has just reissued an essay by Dr. Butler entitled "Where Does Academic Freedom Begin?" It was written in 1934, and the answer is, "Nowhere that any considerable number of persons happen to be."

Dr. Butler discovers that the term *Lehrfreiheit* "is now being frequently used in the United States in a wholly indefensible way, as well as given a quite impossible application." To set matters right he goes back not, as one might expect, to, say, John Stuart Mill but to Aristotle, and he emerges with a doctrine which any Communist or fascist would enthusiastically accept but which seems odd in the mouth of a professed liberal. "The best laws . . . will be of no avail unless the young are trained by habit and education in the spirit of the constitution; if the laws are democratic, democratically, or oligarchically, if the laws are oligarchical." Liberals, so we had always supposed, looked to the schools as a source of new or progressive ideas, and we had no idea that they approved their use as instruments for preserving the status quo even if that should happen to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be—as Dr. Butler is careful to specify—"oligarchical."

After setting us right on this point and, indeed, after citing in justification the present Russian, Italian, and German practices, which we have never before heard cited by a liberal as worthy of imitation in a democracy, he goes on to explain the extremely limited sense in which the term academic freedom can be used in a manner not "wholly indefensible." *"Lehrfreiheit* . . . means only freedom of thought and accompanying freedom of expression as to any part of the field of knowledge which a competent scholar has made his own." So defined it is "an essential attribute and characteristic of true university teaching and research," but though these are ringing words one looks in vain for any equally ringing declaration concerning the methods to be used in determining who is or who is not "a competent scholar" or just when he may be assumed to have made any particular part of a field of knowledge "his own." Presumably anyone who emerges with opinions uncongenial to the president, the board of trustees, or any sufficiently powerful alumnus beginning to find himself "alienated" may cheerfully be told to hold his tongue until he has proved himself a competent scholar or demonstrated his mastery of a particular field by agreeing whole-heartedly with the before-mentioned president, board of trustees, or powerful alumnus. Presumably, also, the fascist heads of the Italian Department can, without in any way violating that academic freedom which is "an essential attribute" of a true university, continue to keep their department pure by insisting that failure to be a fascist is prima facie evidence of incompetence in the field of Italian life and letters.

It is not, however, by any means to be supposed that such delirious irresponsibility as is thus guaranteed to the university professor can be regarded as also the privilege of either the mere undergraduate or the teacher in the lower schools. "The situation in respect to the elementary school, the secondary school, and in large part the college is quite a different one." Here Aristotle is to remain the guiding light, and if "civics" is to be taught it must be with the distinct understanding that the purpose is not to provoke inquiry or to encourage criticism. Comparative study of different forms of government, for instance, "is something reserved for the well-trained student when he has put on the *toga virilis* and arrived at years of maturity with an informed and disciplined mind at his command."

Frankly we do not see why nervous alumni should be very much better pleased with Dr. Butler's large words than we are ourselves. He has, it is true, been at some pains to assure them that his conception of academic freedom does not mean anything in particular and that it will never be a serious embarrassment to his administration of the university. But he does not give any specific hints concerning what he proposes to do. We have long ago abandoned hope that he will take seriously the outrageous situation at the Casa Italiana: the fascist professors in the Italian Department are all "mature scholars" and so have earned not only the right to academic freedom but also the right to deny it to those of their colleagues who are obviously not competent. But what about the student members of the radical clubs and the professors who sympathize with them? We are anxious to learn whether or not the former have assumed the *toga virilis* and whether or not the latter are "competent scholars."

The South Replies

THE first important answer to Secretary Wallace's notable challenge in "America Must Choose" has come more than a year after the publication of his pamphlet. But it is significant that the answer should come from the South, and that it should be couched in unequivocal language. It is true that the memorandum drawn up by the Southern Policy Conference, held in Atlanta from April 25 to 28, cannot be considered fully representative of Southern thought. The group was self-chosen and liberal in its political sympathies. Still the conference drew together from more than a dozen cities in nine Southern states men who are leaders in their communities, and since its conclusions were based on preliminary studies by local groups in a half-dozen cities, their importance is far greater than the number of persons participating.

In its report the conference took a position similar to that recently expressed in *The Nation's* editorial columns—that a continuation of the trend toward national self-containment "would throw the whole economy of the South into a paroxysm during a period of readjustment" which might last for many years. It suggested that even if new crops and industries could eventually be established, the South should not lightly surrender the great natural advantages it possesses in the production of cotton and tobacco. Since it would entail the permanent loss of export markets, the report held that any attempt to maintain a domestic price for these products above that of the world market was basically unsound, and recommended that the cotton-loan rate be lowered immediately from the present figure of 12 cents a pound to 10 cents as a preliminary to its ultimate abolition. It recognized, too, that the welfare of the South depends on a more fundamental revision of the American tariff policy than any thus far projected by the Administration.

As basic principles for regional planning, these conclusions can scarcely be challenged. But in contrast to its clarity in dealing with broad matters of economic policy, the report failed to face the full implications of the South's sectional problems. We find it speculating not unintelligently on the need for a World Economic Council, yet apparently unable to formulate any program for meeting the South's most immediate and difficult problem—that of racial discrimination. The question of the tenant farmer is disposed of by recommending the passage of the Bankhead bill, without any warning of the need of specific clauses protecting the rights of the Negro. For industry, the Wagner labor-disputes bill is approved, but without recommendations regarding the admission of Negroes to labor organizations. The race issue is also unaccountably ignored in the discussion of rural rehabilitation and planning.

But apart from the validity of its specific recommendations, the Southern Policy Conference represents a hopeful development. Five years ago it would have been impossible to get busy men from all sections of the South to devote a winter to the discussion of fundamental economic and social problems. The mere fact that such persons are sufficiently dissatisfied with present conditions to be willing to give time and energy to this study indicates that the South is at last awakening.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and a Woman

Jane Addams and Her League

JUST as this issue of *The Nation* is going to press comes the word that Jane Addams is sinking rapidly after her grave operation. The news comes as a great shock. I find it hard adequately to characterize what she has meant to the whole country, so I shall today set forth only the picture of her last appearance in Washington on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and her own seventy-fifth birthday. The dinner was one of the largest ever given in Washington; the conference itself, with the reception at the White House, was genuinely impressive; and the radio program of peace talks from all around the world was nothing less than awe-creating—it took the radio engineers six months to solve the technical problem of getting broadcasts from Tokyo and Moscow one immediately after the other. It was the more remarkable because of the enthusiasm for peace displayed in a period when the danger of war appears on every hand.

That the wife of the President added her words of eulogy was itself highly significant of the changed feeling about Miss Addams and her work, and so were the numerous laudatory editorials which appeared in the press. It is a curious fact that the one statement for which Miss Addams was most severely attacked during war time was an entirely truthful one—that the soldiers who were daily going to their useless deaths "over the top" were given drink or dope. The pro-Ally press fell upon her for it with rage and fury, calling it a reflection upon the noble manhood of the Allied troops, and the lying British propaganda service naturally chimed in. Afterwards it was, of course, well substantiated. Miss Addams made the statement quite casually, as a matter of course, for numerous persons had talked about it on the other side and she assumed that it was equally well known here. But no matter what Miss Addams said or did, the journalistic and pro-Ally packs would have bayed her. Anyone who kept his sanity in those days was bound to be the object of violent attack, for reason was discarded. Those who doubt this had better read Walter Millis's excellent new book, "Road to War. America: 1914-1917," wherein the insanity and hysteria of those days are adequately set forth. Only gradually is the whole truth coming out; here is Frederic R. Coudert, who was the special counsel of the British Embassy during the war, publicly stating that the conduct of his British employers during the war was so lawless and so injurious to us that we should have gone to war with them but for the German submarine policy.

Well, Miss Addams has had the great satisfaction of living to see justice done her—she has had that satisfaction, that is, if she thinks at all about the matter of justice for herself. It is true that one of the patriotic groups took the opportunity of the Washington celebration to declare that she was a menace to true Americanism or some such nonsense, but there will always be little people without souls to snarl at the truly great and to characterize themselves by doing so. Miss Addams has been dangerous to those who wish to arrest the world's progress and evolution, for she has insisted upon being in the forefront of advance. I have no doubt that there are captains of industry in Chicago who, when Hull House was first opened, were certain that this new-fangled business of "coddling immigrants" and thereby putting false ideas into their heads was certain to lead to anarchy.

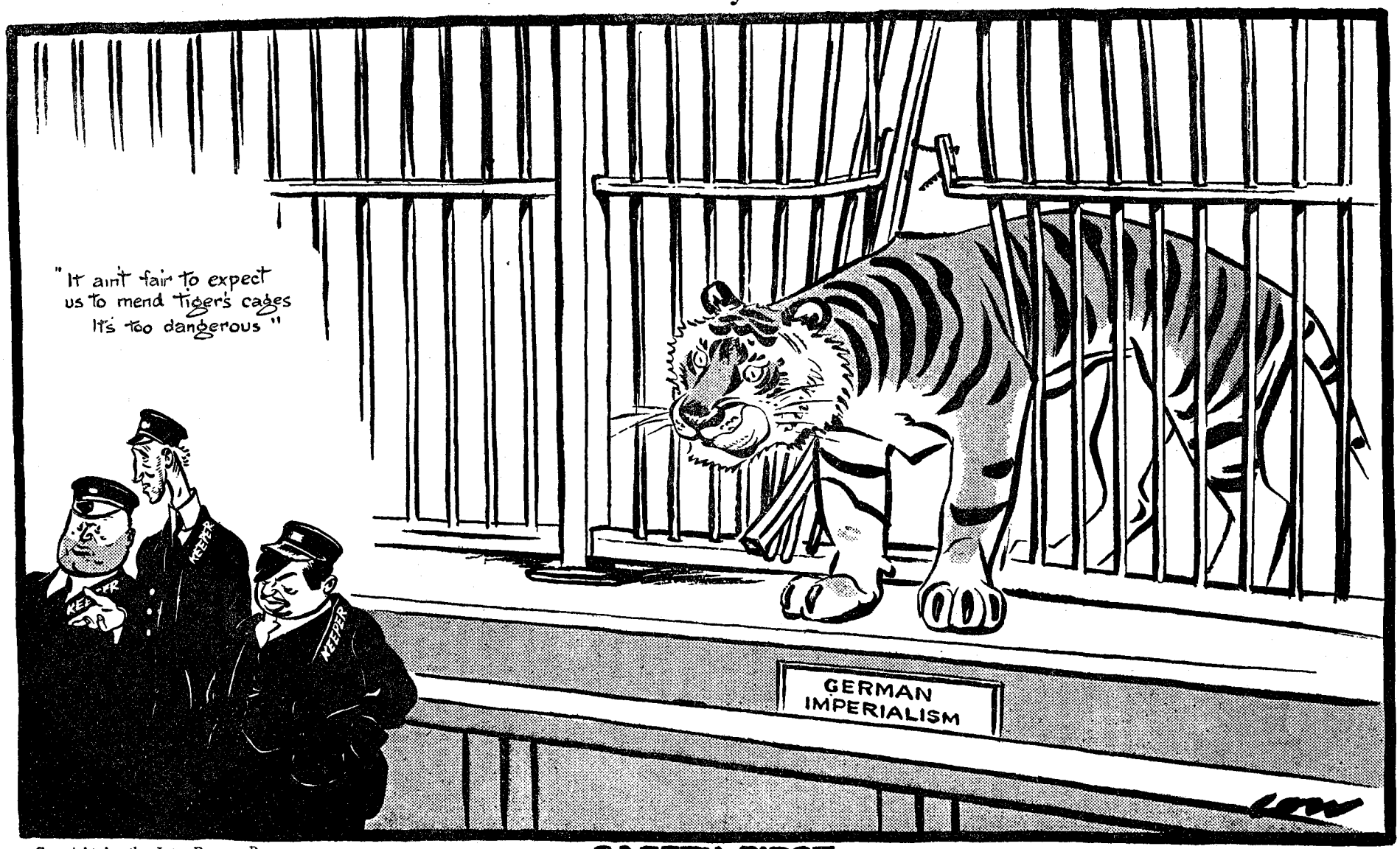
When Miss Addams got up to speak at the Washington dinner she proved at once the correctness of the preceding speakers who had referred to her as a true statesman. There were a breadth and strength and vision in her talk which made the others of us who had spoken shrink visibly—I don't apologize to Secretary Ickes, who paid an admirable tribute to Miss Addams. She is cast in a great mold; Miss Perkins would, I think, agree that it is Miss Addams who should have been the first woman to enter the Cabinet of the United States, where she would have made it uncomfortable for most of her associates by dwarfing them. Jane Addams's countenance not only mirrors her character but bears evidence of all the needless misery and waste which she has seen, and done her best to eradicate. It reminds me always of the compelling tragedy of Eleanora Duse's aspect; yet one can never think of Miss Addams as a tragic figure, or as being anything but calm and serene in her leadership, concealing, perhaps, deep fires within, as a doctor wears a mask in the face of suffering and death lest he be emotionally destroyed.

One thing is true. If Miss Addams were of that type she could have had an extremely good time saying "I told you so," and pointing out in how many ways her wartime attitude has been justified and her prophecies have come true. I suspect she has rarely looked backward. But she must have been deeply impressed, as I am, by the fact that the advocates of peace—and notably her brave coworkers in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, whose invaluable work I have so often praised—have by the logic of events been forced into the position of being the true defenders of civilization. This is established by the admissions of men like Stanley Baldwin and Lloyd George. Even those who, like Ramsay MacDonald, are now all for armaments admit that armaments don't keep nations out of war. Yet they are hell bent for increasing armaments, though Stanley Baldwin has said that that can only lead to bankruptcy and invite another war. Neither he nor anyone else in high office has any suggestion as to how the catastrophe can be avoided. What a relief it was then, to hear and see someone with the statesmanship of Jane Addams! To think that we are to be deprived of that now fills me with grief. The loss to the world will be irreparable.

Oswald Garrison Villard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Cartoon by LOW



Copyright by the Inter-Europa Press

SAFETY FIRST.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Birth Control and Obscenity

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

Washington, May 20

THANKS to Anthony Comstock's fanaticism, contraception is legally obscene in the United States, being so defined in the law whipped through Congress by his fury in 1873. Hence an effort made by the Post Office Department this year ostensibly to strengthen its hands in closing the mails to certain examples of erotic literature became at once applicable to contraception. The birth-control leaders, having despaired of passing their own bills at this session, suddenly were faced with legislation which definitely meant retrogression. Through their own vigilance and organization, and by the aid of a few Congressmen and newspapermen, they have won a respite after a nervous spring. The proposed legislation has not been killed, but it lies dormant in committees in the Senate and the House and may not come out at all in this session.

There are two theories about the purpose of the Post Office bill. Mr. Farley, being a Catholic, is under the suspicion of having meant to strike a blow at birth control while apparently aiming at erotic books. The other theory is that the Post Office Department did not have birth control in mind at all, and stumbled into a hornet's nest. It is impossible for outsiders to prove motives by objective methods. I can say that Mr. Farley himself passed on the proposed legislation, and he certainly knows that information about contraception is legally obscene. Therefore he knows that the bill covers contraceptive literature and supplies. But whether Mr. Farley intended to use the law, if passed, to prosecute reputable medical persons, hospitals, and clinics is another question. He is not troubling them now, although he is entitled to—really he is obliged to—under the law of 1873. What he hoped to do with the new legislation is not demonstrable.

The inspectors of the Post Office Department, who are trying to close the mails to certain types of printed matter, say they did not have contraception in mind. And they say they are the ones who wanted the new legislation. They wanted it because the printed matter they wish to bar is published in New York and they cannot induce the district attorney of that jurisdiction to prosecute. He has told them time and again that he could not obtain a conviction. In other words, what the Post Office inspectors consider obscene a federal jury in New York would not consider obscene. So there are two issues raised by the legislation. There is the confounding of contraception with obscenity, which is the heritage of Anthony Comstock, and which makes any sharpening of the laws against obscenity apply at once to birth-control literature and supplies. And there is the moot question of what is obscene. The birth-control advocates did not fight the bill because it made it easier to suppress obscenity; they were quite willing to have the law passed if doctors, hospitals, clinics, and government agencies were left free to use the mails for contraceptive literature and supplies. With this amendment, indeed, they saw themselves on the verge of winning their long campaign. The highly metaphysical problem of obscenity is not their particular cause. Mrs. Margaret Sanger did speak about the difficulties of defining obscenity. "It is not a static thing," she told the House committee. "It moves with the years. It moves with the times. It changes with geographical boundaries." She described how she was nearly mobbed in Japan because her thirteen-year-old son kissed her goodby in public, an obscene act in that country. But she would not fight the bill if it was amended in a manner which would win the birth-control fight.

The proposed bill (H 5370, S 1541) was introduced by Congressman John P. Higgins of Boston and Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona. The amendment exempting the medical profession was introduced in the House by Representative Walter M. Pierce, former governor of Oregon. The Pierce amendment was indorsed by so many leaders and organizations throughout the country that now the bill can hardly hope of passage without the amendment, although it can also hardly hope of passage with it. That is why it remains in committee. The overwhelming nature of the indorsement testifies to the immediate interest the birth controllers can tap throughout the country, but the unpopularity of the Pierce amendment with legislators shows how strong the prejudice against birth control remains in Congress.

The bill is brief and makes what at first reading seems only an obscure change in the Comstock law. It permits prosecution at the destination as well as at the place of mailing of obscene matter. But this small change is drastic. If Margaret Sanger could not be convicted in New York, she might be tried in any outlying and backward jurisdiction where local jurymen might agree with Anthony Comstock that contraceptive information is obscene. Anyone in such a jurisdiction might write for birth-control information for "intrapment" and then hale her to the distant court and send her to prison for five years or fine her $5,000, or both. The Post Office Department tries to smile this argument away by denying that it is going to administer the law in this spirit. But the letter of the law is what Congress passes, and under the letter of the law the birth-control movement could be driven even deeper underground than it is.

The hearing before the House subcommittee in the main was on the birth-control issue and not on obscenity. Mrs. Sanger was the star witness, and she brought out that the Catholic-sponsored book, "The Rhythm," on the avoidance of conception by use of the "sterile" period, has been declared mailable by the Post Office, whereas Dr. Hannah M. Stone's "Contraceptive Practices" has been declared nonmailable. The Post Office solicitor decides on mailability, and it would contort an eel to follow his reasoning in these two decisions, made last year within a few weeks of each other. "The Rhythm," being accessible to everyone, has increased the incidence of pregnancy among high-school girls, according to a statement to the committee. Moreover, it is a book for the lay reader and can be sent to anyone, whereas Dr. Stone's book, though intended only for physicians, cannot be mailed even to them. Some of the Catholics present

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were embarrassed by the revelation, and Mr. Higgins made the remark: "It is my impression that the chief Post Office inspector, Mr. Aldrich, would do a commendable thing for the Catholic church if he barred the damned book 'The Rhythm' from the mails."

The Pierce amendment at once drew the strongest Catholic opposition. Testifying against it were Monsignor John A. Ryan, director of the Department of Social Government of the National Catholic Welfare Council, Miss Agnes G. Regan for the National Council of Catholic Women, and Edward J. Heffron for the National Council of Catholic Men. Monsignor Ryan had a great deal to say about the decline of population. But on the ethics of contraception he turned transcendental. "Somewhere," he admitted, "we must rest our argument upon a proposition which we cannot demonstrate, which we accept as self-evident. This is true of all the sciences. Now, we maintain that the intrinsic immorality of contraception is self-evident. If it is not self-evident to our opponents, we regret the limitations of their intellectual training." This is faith, not reason, and appears a strange technique to use in arguing to legislators. Congressman Ashbrook put a straight question to Monsignor Ryan at the close of his testimony. Explaining first that he had not gone on record for or against birth control, and that he was a father of "five fine children and I wish I had that many more," he asked: "Do you believe that there are no conditions or circumstances under which and under the handling of a regularly licensed physician birth control is warranted?" Monsignor Ryan replied: "There are not any such conditions any more than there are circumstances justifying the recommending of abortion, which as I have said is murder of a human being." Mr. Ashbrook went on: "You think it would not be justified or warranted to save the life of a mother?" "No," replied Monsignor Ryan, "not any more than the killing of a foetus would be justified, the doctor killing the foetus, subordinating the life of the foetus to the life of the mother."

Miss Regan for the Catholic women told the committee it was "unthinkable" that "our people should be asked to accept a philosophy which would permit men and women to continue to live together as man and wife, to exercise the marital privilege, while placing some kind of mechanical or chemical device between the exercise of that privilege and the effect designed by nature—the conception of children."

Mr. Heffron, speaking for three million Catholic men, epitomized their doctrine in this way: "We believe that God gave man the reproductive faculty, very obviously, for reproductive purposes. We believe, therefore, that a positive frustration of those purposes is a frustration of the will of God." He did not, however, go on to explain whether the use of the sterile period as explained in "The Rhythm" is a "positive frustration." He did write a letter to the committee explaining church procedure in giving its sanction to the book. "Published with ecclesiastical approbation," he said, "is a technical phrase permitting the printing of the book. It carries no recommendation except that the contents are in accordance with faith and morals." Answering the charge that "The Rhythm" had increased pregnancy among high-school girls, he called attention to an addition in the fourth edition of the book (page 40): "Whilst we do not believe that under ordinary circumstances, in regular married life, extraordinary ovulation is brought on through the natural excitement of intercourse, we are inclined to believe, though we have no evidence to that effect, that intercourse had under extraordinary circumstances might stimulate ovulation and bring it on prematurely, as, for instance, in the case of adultery"; to which Mr. Heffron added, "or it would seem of fornication." He then ended with this interpretation: "In other words, the Ogino-Knaus theory will probably not work, and 'The Rhythm' explicitly says so, when used illicitly." Here indeed is a novelty, a scientific theory which only operates under benefit of clergy.

The other aspect of the bill, its threat to the freedom of the press, was analyzed by Morris Ernst. "For the first one hundred years of this nation," he said, "there was no censorship whatever through the Post Office, either of obscenity or birth control. If you read the papers of the founding fathers, you will find that Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and others were bitterly opposed to the use of the Post Office for censoring anything. The theory, you will find, is very clear. The only things that should be kept out of the mailbags are those things which would harm other mail, such as explosives or moist commodities." Mr. Ernst wanted to go back to this freedom. The proposed law, he explained, would make it possible for the federal power to choose a district where it was sure of conviction, arrange for trial there, obtain a precedent, and thereby dominate the literature of the nation. "It seems to me this is the most direct attack on the freedom of the press ever made in my lifetime in this country, and it seems to me to be far more serious than anything Anthony Comstock ever suggested."

The belief that someone was trying "to put something over" in introducing this bill, and that it is not as innocent as the Post Office inspectors aver, is strengthened by a queer happening in the Senate. Senator La Follette is a member of the Senate Post Office Committee and was ready to oppose the bill when the committee met. To his astonishment, the bill was reported unanimously to the Senate, though he had not known that the committee had passed on it. He was able to protest and have it referred back to the committee. What had happened was that the committee had met without notifying him. This can be put down to inadvertence, or it can be explained as a deliberate effort to circumvent Senator La Follette and the opponents of the bill. The Senate committee has not felt like holding a hearing on the bill since then, and the present intention is not to hold one.

To sum up, here is a bill explained by the Post Office authorities as one to enable them to prosecute publishers of New York or other cities outside their home jurisdictions for acts which would not be considered violations of the law in those jurisdictions. In other words, it submits city persons to the moral prejudices of any backwoods jury, and is quite candidly intended to do so. The Post Office argument is that damage by obscene literature is done where it is received. But the legislation goes farther: it gives additional power to the Post Office to prevent the spread of the knowledge of scientific birth control since that knowledge still is classified by the law as obscene. And finally it gives the Post Office the power to dominate the literature of the country, to measure it, if it chooses, according to the most benighted taste to be found in the most backward region. That the Post Office blithely promises not to use the power in this way is at best a queer argument for giving it the power.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hollywood Plays with Fascism

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

HOLLYWOOD has suddenly become a fascist recruiting station. No one knows precisely how it happened or who began it or what it means, but the evidence of flamboyant militarism is incontrovertible: flags decorate the night clubs, bugles trumpet from the lodge halls, and the roll of drums is audible along the boulevards. Since the first of the year the Light Horse Cavalry, the Hollywood Hussars, and other saber-rattling gangs have been conducting intensive recruiting campaigns. Almost any actor one meets in Hollywood nowadays is apt to be a clandestine major or a night-time once-a-week colonel. Such brilliant militarists as Gary Cooper, distinguished as a movie-lot Bengal Lancer, and Victor McLaglen, whose military prowess is known in all movie palaces, and George Brent, whose cinematographic gallantry is notorious on the sets, have permitted their names to be used as sponsors for fascists groups in Hollywood. Such have been the success and popularity of these groups that other stars will unquestionably join in the business of promoting fascism.

Within a short period of time Messrs. Cooper, McLaglen, and Brent have promoted three successful fascist units: the Hollywood Hussars, the Light Horse Cavalry, and the California Esquadrille. When Mr. McLaglen pioneered in this business, it was the fashion to wisecrack about his light horsemen. But now that three such groups have been definitely established as profitably operated, permanently organized armed forces, it is time that the joke was given its proper name. To be sure, there is nothing alarming about the spectacle of slapstick Hitlers parading about Hollywood in dress uniforms. But when these warriors-in-make-up are financed by powerful interests, backed by civic organizations, blessed by the local ministry, and drilled by army officers, their burlesque of fascism warrants careful consideration.

The first of these organizations in the field was Mr. McLaglen's Light Horse Cavalry Troop. Originally restricted to Canadian and British ex-service men, the troop has suddenly developed an amazing concern over American politics. The Light Horsemen, it seems, are to "save America." Pictures of these dashing Hollywood cavalrymen in their weekly drills and assemblies have appeared frequently in the newspapers, and the society columns have carried items about their numerous social festivities. From the start the Light Horse unit was a successful business venture. As a well-trained cavalry unit, it has been rented to motion-picture studios, and its various athletic teams regularly compete with professional and semi-professional groups. Quite recently Mr. McLaglen began the construction of a $20,000 stadium in Los Angeles with an auditorium of 700 seats, and with recreation and dressing-rooms in the basement. This clubhouse is designed "for the use of members of a new club which McLaglen has organized to promote Americanism, membership in which already numbers about 1,000." The "new club" is really an amplification of the original Light Horse unit. Mr. McLaglen was recently quoted in the Los Angeles *Post-Record* to the effect that the new unit "has offered its services to city, state, and federal authorities at any time it might be needed." In their public meetings the Light Horsemen listen to speakers who specialize in the fanciest variety of red-baiting.

But McLaglen's organization, successful though it is, is not in the same category with the Hollywood Hussars. Organized early in March, Mr. Cooper's little army has created a great furor. The advertising columns of the Los Angeles *Times* and *Examiner* carry full-column recruiting notices for the Hussars. The Hussars, it seems, were founded by Mr. Cooper to "uphold and protect the principles and ideals of true Americanism"; they have "pledged themselves to make their regiment the model to inspire other communities to organize similar bodies of trained Americans throughout the nation."

Membership in the Hussars is limited to "American citizens of excellent character and of social and financial standing, who are physically fit, not under five feet seven inches in height, and between the ages of eighteen and forty-five." In order to become "a soldier and a gentleman," the recruit must pay an initiation fee of $5 ($20 if he wants to be a charter member), dues of $5 monthly (payable in advance), rent a horse for $1 per drill, and purchase a nifty service uniform at $39.75. Incidentally, the uniforms were specially designed for the Hussars by Montagu Love. The shirt of the "service or field" uniform is of "yellow gabardine, the breeches of dark blue elastic material trimmed with broad yellow stripes, similar to those used by the United States cavalry of post-Civil War days." The full-dress uniforms are of blue, yellow, and white, "a composite of those used by the original Hungarian Hussars, the English Hussars, and the German Uhlans."

At present Troops A, B, C, and D of the Hussars are being enrolled. When organized, the units will have a medical and first-aid detachment, a signal-communications troop, a signal photographic section, a motor-cycle detachment, a military police and intelligence detachment, and buglers and a mounted band. The recruiting slogans are fetching: "A military-social organization with good fellowship and community spirit"; "Excellent social opportunities"; "Strictly disciplined! Smartly drilled! Colorfully uniformed!" The recruiting notice stresses that "we particularly desire young men of accredited military academies, universities, schools, R. O. T. C. and O. R. C." The troops drill one night a week and are trained by veteran officers.

The Hussars have an imposing array of officers. Gary Cooper, the Bengal Lancer, is founder-sponsor. Colonel Arthur Guy Empey ("Over the Top" Empey) is commanding officer. There are three regimental captain-chaplains: Father George G. Fox, a Jesuit whose boasted distinction it is to have instructed Edmund Lowe, the movie star, at Santa Clara University; the Reverend Neal Dodd, popular pastor of St. Mary of Angels, Hollywood; and, oddly enough, Rabbi Isadore Isaacson, of Temple of Israel, Hollywood. (Incidentally, when I inquired of "Regimental Headquarters" whether Jews were eligible for membership, I could not get a definite answer.) On the regimental staff

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are four advisory colonels, all retired United States army officers; ten majors, many of whom are former army officers; fourteen captains, seven of whom are former army officers; ten first lieutenants; and three second lieutenants, one an ex-marine, one an Austrian of the Seventh Uhlan Regiment, and one—for glamor—a former member of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police.

The organization reaches deep into local politics. Judge Marshall F. McComb, of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, is listed as a major (he was formerly of counsel for the Los Angeles *Examiner* and was backed for judicial appointment by William Randolph Hearst); and Judge Joseph Sproul of the local Superior Court, prominent as an officer in the marine reserve corps, appears likewise as a major. Both of these men, of course, have occasion to pass upon the rights of workers and organizers charged with violating California's numerous laws for the maintenance of the status quo. Sheriff Eugene W. Biscailuz is listed as an officer. "Major" James E. Davis is none other than the notorious "Jim" Davis, chief of police, who recently confessed that the tear-gas bombs his policemen hurled at the striking employees of the Los Angeles Railway Company were the gift of that corporation to the police. Davis, according to the announcement, is "an internationally recognized pistol shot and instructor, who is assisted by his competent staff," that is, the Los Angeles red squad.

The third group, George Brent's California Esquadrille, is similarly organized. Members are recruited; they pay an initiation fee and get a uniform; they pay for flying instructions; and finally they are commissioned as air pilots and do formation flying. It is relatively inconspicuous. The slogan reads, "If you want to be a birdman, you can be a Brent one at a nominal cost."

Why, it may be asked, should Hollywood suddenly become so militaristic? It seems that Mr. Hearst was deeply impressed with Victor McLaglen's success in organizing the Light Horse unit. Mr. Hearst then induced Gary Cooper to try his hand at the game, promising liberal backing and support. It will be recalled that Mr. Cooper is friendly with the Hearst ménage, having recently appeared as leading man for one of Hollywood's most charming actresses. Mr. Hearst, so the story goes, is quite alarmed over the growth of "radicalism" in the motion-picture industry. Not only has Hollywood had labor trouble in the past, but such stars as James Cagney and Dolores Del Rio have been known to contribute to liberal causes—an unpardonable offense. The Screen Writers' Guild, a fairly strong organization, has shown liberal tendencies. Then, too, the scenario and reading departments are suspected of various heresies. The primary purpose of these fascist units in the industry was therefore to counteract the agitation and influence of the liberal groups.

But the Hussars and their allies have other uses. They are designed to advertise the charms of fascist organization to the American public. Through the publicity medium of the industry, the most powerful propaganda machine in America, these gaudy units sponsored by popular and well-known stars can be advertised to millions of Americans as the latest and snappiest fascist models. It is even rumored that a motion picture will be made, presenting the Hollywood Hussars in the act of suppressing a radical uprising in California. Also these groups have all volunteered their services to the authorities "in case of trouble." They constitute, in other words, a threat and a warning. Nor should the business aspects be overlooked: these units serve to advertise the stars, to make money for the actual promoters, to attract commercial careerists—that is, dentists, lawyers, insurance salesmen, and others—in quest of valuable "contacts." Moreover, they have the added value to their sponsors of being self-supporting. And there can be little question of the identity of the forces that are giving the Hussars their moral support. The meetings of the organization are held in the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce.

To observe the antics of the Hussars is amusing; the very idea of such an organization in Hollywood is downright funny. But a moment's reflection is sufficient to dispel the illusion of mirth. This is clowning, but it is crazy clowning; this is silliness, but it is organized silliness; this is foolishness, but it is armed foolishness. Will America laugh or step up to shake hands with Colonel Cooper?

The Whisperer

By MARK VAN DOREN

Be extra careful by this door,
No least, least sound, she said.
It is my brother Oliver's,
And he would strike you dead.

Come on. It is the top step now,
And carpet all the way.
But wide enough for only one,
Unless you carry me.

I love your face as hot as this.
Put me down, though, and creep.
My father! He would strangle you,
I think, like any sheep.

Now take me up again, again;
We're at the landing post.
You hear her saying Hush, and Hush?
It is my mother's ghost.

She would have loved you, loving me.
She had a voice as fine—
I love you more for such a kiss,
And here is mine, is mine.

And one for her—O, quick, the door!
I cannot bear it so.
The vestibule, and out—for now
Who passes that would know?

Here we could stand all night and let
Strange people smile and stare.
But you must go, and I must lie
Alone up there, up there.

Remember? But I understand.
More with a kiss is said.
And do not mind it if I cry,
Passing my mother's bed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Behind the Sakdalista Uprising

By SAMUEL WEINMAN

THE existence of a determined opposition to the new Commonwealth constitution in the Philippines, despite the overwhelming vote in favor of that measure, is indicated by the recent peasant uprising led by the Sakdal Party. At the root of these disturbances lay not only dissatisfaction with the continuation of American rule, as provided in the Tydings-McDuffie Act, but active resentment against the domination of Manuel L. Quezon, president of the insular senate. The revolt of May 3 was the culmination of a long series of clashes between the peasants on the one side and the landlords, tax collectors, and constabulary on the other. The main grievances of the peasantry have been exorbitant rents, burdensome taxes, and excessive interest rates. In the province of Tarlac revolutionary committees of peasants have defied attempts to collect rent, taxes, or interest. Thousands of agricultural laborers on the sugar and rice plantations have struck for higher wages. In the towns also the workers have turned definitely toward radicalism. Strikes have occurred during the past year in many of the island's basic industries.

This growing militancy of the masses has been met by a campaign of suppression instituted by Governor General Murphy and Manuel Quezon. Last August, when more than 11,000 cigar-makers in more than a score of plants struck for wage increases, the Governor General issued a command to "maintain order at all costs." On September 18 the police fired on a picket line in front of the Minerva cigar factory, killing three strikers and wounding nineteen. Immediately a government-inspired red scare was unleashed in the press and on the air. Dozens of strikers were arrested and their leader was imprisoned for "sedition." Left-wing trade unions in the islands have been made illegal, while the right-wing unions have been given definite government support. The right to strike has been crippled by the extension of compulsory arbitration. Freedom of press, speech, and assembly has been drastically restricted for those who desired to organize against the Murphy-Quezon rule.

After the recent uprising 250 Sakdalistas were arrested, including two members of the insular legislature from Laguna Province. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Benigno Ramos, the head of the Sakdalista Party, on the ground of sedition, although he was in Japan at the time of the rebellion. The Secretary of the Interior, Teofilo Sison, has announced that the Sakdalista Party will be outlawed, and Acting Governor General Hayden has threatened "prompt justice" for the rebels.

Although the Sakdalista Party has a mildly socialistic platform, it has no connection whatever with the Communist Party. It has heretofore been a legal party, while the Communists were driven underground years ago. Yet despite persecution, arrests, and deportation, the Communists have played a leading role in organizing the strikes which have swept Manila and the provinces in the past year.

One reason for the growing strength of the radical movement is to be found in the fascist tendencies manifested by the government. Through his newspaper, the *Philippine Herald,* Quezon has prepared the ideological ground, and there are many indications that he aspires to the post of fascist dictator of the islands. On January 22 last one of Quezon's colleagues, introducing him at a public function, praised him as "a composite of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Hitler, and Mussolini," and again as "New Dealer, der Führer, and il Duce all combined and rolled into one." An article entitled Manuel Quezon as Industrial Dictator, written by an industrial chemist, spokesman for the sugar interests, appeared in Quezon's own paper, the *Herald.* After reviewing the crisis in the sugar industry the author emphasized the need for a dictator and suggested Quezon. "This position of industrial dictator," he wrote, "requires a man with natural genius as a dictator . . . all these qualities we find in the person of one man—Manuel L. Quezon."

Another indication of the trend toward fascism in the Philippines is contained in a letter, dated January 23, from the Secretary of Labor, Ramon Torres, to Quezon, calling for the incorporation in the constitution of a provision which would legalize forced labor. After presenting all the customary fascist arguments in favor of compulsory labor Torres concluded by saying that "in many European countries the system of compulsory labor has been implanted with beneficial results."

Quezon's *Herald* has all the earmarks of a member of the Hearst chain of newspapers. The campaign against radicalism, communism, the Soviet Union, and militant labor organizations characteristic of the Hearst press forms an integral part of its policy. At the same time the *Herald* consistently indorses fascism and lauds Hitler and Mussolini. The issue of the *Herald* for March 30, 1935, illustrates Quezon's methods. First, there is an article by Doug Brinkley, Nazi Germany at First Hand, which frankly exalts Hitler and Hitlerism. A second article extolls the New Life movement of Chiang Kai-shek in China; a third reproduces a commencement address given at the University of Manila under the heading, "The youth must be ready to undergo military training."

The same issue ran two anti-red editorials, a cartoon, and a news story. The cartoon shows "Sovietism" driving a huge wheel marked "All-Absorbing State Capitalism" over the body of "Labor." The various spokes of the wheel are labeled "political tyranny," "rigid discipline," "violence," "class hatred," "despotic laws," "control of private life," and "espionage." A half-page editorial elaborates this theme. In a second editorial captioned Fighting the Agitators the *Herald* boasts that "the press is doing its part." The news item warns that Quezon's lieutenants, Hayden, Sison, and the chief of the constabulary, are conferring "on ways and means of curbing radical activity." To round out the Hearstian character of the *Herald,* Arthur Brisbane contributes his weekly syndicated editorial, which on this occasion breathed jingoism and militarism.

Quezon's kinship to Hearst is even closer than appears from their common stand on fascism and communism. Quezon is a disciple of Hearst. When Quezon was re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cently en route to Washington the *Herald* proudly proclaimed that the president of the senate would stop over to visit his "personal friend" William Randolph Hearst. "It is said," the *Herald* continued, "that whenever President Quezon passes by the Pacific coast he always takes the opportunity to call at Hearst's San Simeon ranch." The *Herald* also revealed that Quezon's visit was not purely a social affair when it stated that "Mr. Hearst, whose opinion on the Far East is known to be for a deferred Philippine independence on account of Japan's ambitions, may have interesting slants on the problem that President Quezon would want to hear at this decisive moment in Philippine history."

One openly fascist organization, the Fascist National Federation of Labor, has already been established in Manila. In an effort to prepare the ground for a completely fascist regime this group is striving for a base among the workers by conducting a series of forums on unemployment. It is extremely significant that the government and the press have shown no inclination to suppress the fascists in Manila. On the contrary, the *Herald* is constantly giving them free publicity.

How Not to Stop Lynching

By WILLIAM SEAGLE

THE determined filibuster of a group of Southern Senators against the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynching bill has apparently killed that measure in the present session of Congress. A federal anti-lynching bill has been a recurrent item on the Congressional agenda for the past thirteen years. Actually passed by the House in 1922 but stopped by a filibuster in the Senate, it has lingered as a standing issue. But while the original Dyer bill at least had the merit of attempting to outlaw lynching, the present bill is largely a sham, a fact which makes the filibuster all the more ironical.

The test of the honesty of any federal anti-lynching bill lies in its definition of a mob. Thus the bill introduced in the Seventy-third Congress defined a mob "as an assemblage composed of three or more persons acting in concert without authority of law, *for the purpose of depriving any person of his life, or doing him physical injury.*" In the course of its transit through the Committee on the Judiciary, however, the words in italics were removed from the bill and in their place were substituted "to kill or injure any person in the custody of any peace officer, with the purpose or consequence of depriving such person of due process of law or the equal protection of the laws." This change in the bill deprived it of half its effectiveness. For the federal government to be able to intervene it would have to be established that the lynched person was in the custody of a peace officer. But obviously a great many of the men who are lynched never come within the "protecting" arm of the law. The available figures show that of the 254 persons lynched from 1921 to 1929, 112, or 44.1 per cent, were never in the custody of the law. An additional 74, or 29.1 per cent, were taken from peace officers outside the jail, while the remaining 68, or 26.8 per cent, were taken from the jail.

Apparently the sponsors of the present bill recognized the extremely limited scope of an anti-lynching law which protects only persons in the custody of peace officers. At least the terms of the bill have been somewhat broadened. A mob is now defined not only as an assemblage of persons attacking another in custody of a peace officer, but as an assemblage of persons attacking one who is charged with or suspected of the commission of a crime. But this still stops short of really establishing a federal crime of lynching. Many Negroes lynched have not only not enjoyed the advantages of legal custody but have been neither charged with nor suspected of any crime. Of 3,693 mob victims between 1889 and 1929, it is stated by Roper that 66, or 1.8 per cent, were accused of "insult to white person," and that 894, or 24.2 per cent, were accused of other offenses. The list of these other offenses included such heinous acts as bringing suit against a white man, trying to act like a white man, refusing to pay a note, seeking employment in a restaurant, making boastful remarks, denouncing a sailor's part in a Chicago race riot, speaking disrespectfully against President Wilson, expressing sympathy with a lynched Negro, engaging in conjuring.

It is true that a summary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People states that in only 5.6 per cent of the lynching cases between 1889 and 1918 was there no crime charged. But the Roper figures, which cover the last decade also, indicate that this type of lynching is increasing. Nor can the present figures be considered an exact measure of the mischief which might result if the proposed formula were retained. It would be possible to deny the real reason for a lynching. Members of mobs might insist that they simply didn't like the victim's looks. They might even say that they intended to lynch somebody else. For if it turned out that the wrong man had been lynched, it could be held that the federal statute had not been violated.

The weaknesses in the lynching bill may possibly be defended on the ground that they are intended to make it constitutionally more palatable. The injection of the issues of custody and criminality may, it is true, establish more clearly the element of state action which is the basis of federal interference under the Fourteenth Amendment. But the state has a duty to protect all its citizens against violence at all times, and it is suggested in many cases that the failure to take action may also constitute a denial of due process under the Fourteenth Amendment.

At best a federal anti-lynching bill would be only a weak and uncertain weapon. The federal government may provide criminal penalties for the individual members of a mob as well as seek to assess damages against counties in which lynchings have occurred. But even a federal trial must take place in the locality in which a lynching has occurred. In other words, it must still be held before Southern juries, which will be no more ready to convict than under state anti-lynching statutes. In view of this inherent weakness of any federal anti-lynching statute, any attempt to restrict its scope must be regarded as an attempt to remove its last vestige of usefulness. The Southern gentlemen in the Senate might just as well have spared their throats.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Intelligent Traveler

Trips for Young People

By JOHN ROTHSCHILD

TRIPS to Europe arranged for young people in their teens reflect the growing interest of boys and girls of pre-college age in the realities of the world beyond the American horizon. "International" occurs in the titles of many of the tours, and nearly every program aims to provide contacts for American youth with the youth of other lands.

The number of good tours for young people has almost doubled this year. Since a number of small groups undoubtedly go from private schools or are recruited locally, the list given below is necessarily incomplete. But the leadership of people who understand youth, interesting programs that manage to slip in considerable language study, and simple living in which rest is not forgotten make these tours outstanding. According to past reports, they combine obvious educational advantages with a very good time.

It is a curious fact that the majority of the groups visit Germany and that some even put their main emphasis on friendly contact between young Germans and young Americans, while not one group sets foot inside the Soviet Union. Is it to be assumed that American parents are afraid to submit their immature offspring to the influences of communism but do not hesitate to expose them to fascism?

The low prices of these tours, which compare advantageously with fees at good American camps, are made possible by the special rates quoted by the steamship companies and some foreign railroads for groups of travelers under nineteen years of age. A number of them are conducted by non-profit-making organizations as educational experiences for young people and not as commercial enterprises. Nervous parents need not fear to put the Atlantic between themselves and their children for the vacation. If anything, trips for young people are carried out with more consideration for mind and body than are tours for their elders.

The *"Fourth Experiment in International Living"* will send groups of boys and girls between fifteen and nineteen years of age to France, Germany, and England. All the groups (there will be eight, none exceeding fifteen in membership) follow the same general plan. The travelers spend the first month living in foreign homes in the country chosen and concentrating on language; the second month, camping, hiking, and falt-boating in the company of the friends already made. Parents who prefer to send boys and girls in separate groups may do so, but after experimentation with segregated and mixed groups the leaders have concluded that the latter are more soundly educational. Two chaperones, a man and a woman, accompany such groups. The rate is $400, which includes practically every expense for the ten weeks' vacation, and the young travelers are requested not to take more than $50 for spending money. Address Donald B. Watt, 817 Comstock Avenue, Syracuse, New York.

Dr. Sven V. Knudsen, who has shared his enthusiasms abroad with hundreds of American boys in his annual tours, is planning a fifty-day trip to England, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, and France. In Finland champions of the Olympic games will welcome the party, and several will accompany it through the country. Personal contacts with people in the countries visited is always a feature of Dr. Knudsen's trips. The rate is $545, third class on the ocean and second or third class abroad, depending on the standard of comfort in the countries visited.

Dr. Knudsen and his wife will also conduct a forty-five-day vacation for girls in England, Scandinavia, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and France. Their nine years of experience in travel arrangements for young people have given them a wide circle of European friends who are glad to welcome the young Americans. The tour costs $585, tourist class on the ocean, second class rail, with excellent hotels in Europe. Address Dr. Sven V. Knudsen, 248 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Eunice Clark Rodman, associate editor of *Common Sense,* will conduct a small party of boys and girls of high-school age. The itinerary is comprehensive but lays emphasis on Germany. There will be ten days of sports in the Bavarian Alps with young German students. The rate for sixty-six days is $379 for persons under nineteen, third class throughout. Address Pocono Study Tours, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York.

A Literary Pilgrimage Through the British Isles, mostly by bicycle, is planned for boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. Charles L. Todd, the leader, marked out the route in his own undergraduate wanderings. Literary celebrities, friends of Mr. Todd, will be hosts to the group. The rate is $485 for fifty-one days, third class throughout. Address the Open Road, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York.

International Holiday House for Children is being planned and directed by two American educators for the convenience of parents traveling abroad who want to "park" the younger generation while they attend conferences or whisk about over Europe. The rate is $17 a week. The location will be somewhere in the British Isles. For further particulars address Dr. Berta Hamilton, Mills College, Oakland, California, or Mrs. W. H. Thomas, St. Christopher's School, 857 Mountain Avenue, Westfield, New Jersey.

The *Y. M. C. A.* sponsors a series of tours which are recruited regionally and receive the cooperation abroad of Y. M. C. A. boys and leaders. About twenty groups are planned, of which one is for girls. Of the boys' trips only one does not go to Germany. About half feature a week or more of camping and hiking with German boys. A sample rate is $360 for forty-seven days, third class throughout, for boys under nineteen. Address World Y Tours, 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

The International Friendship League has plans for a group of twenty-five girls averaging eighteen years of age. English people will open their homes to the young Americans for a ten-day visit; Scotland, Sweden, Germany, Belgium, and Paris complete the itinerary. There will be several chaperones and leaders with the party. The rate is $645 for the fifty-five-day round trip, tourist class on the ocean, second class rail, with high-grade hotels. Address International Friendship League, 41 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

A bicycle tour which spends thirty-one days in Germany and ten days in surrounding countries will be conducted by John C. Dengler, who led a similar party last year. Although the trip is announced as a ten weeks' tour of Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Austria, the flying visits to other countries leave the emphasis on the German portion. Boys and girls between fourteen and twenty-one are accepted. The rate for those under nineteen is $298 for the sixty-five-day round trip, third class throughout. An optional bicycle trip which gives twelve days more in France costs an additional $35. Address John C. Dengler, Jr., 220 West Fifty-first Street, Apartment 3 B, New York.

The Fellowship Summer Travel School announces two groups—one for children from eleven to fourteen (the youngest age group offered so far as I know), and a senior group of young people from fifteen to eighteen years. The groups

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spend four weeks in Switzerland in Alpine villages and in an international camp at Les Plans sur Bex. Italy, France, Belgium, and England are included in the ten weeks' vacation. A physician accompanies the groups. The rate is $675, tourist class on the ocean. For the younger group address Miss Truda T. Weil, 220 East Tremont Avenue, New York; for the older group, Mrs. Joseph H. Kohan, 368 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York.

The *Youth Hostels* of Europe, chains of inexpensive inns for young hikers, bikers, and adventurous travelers, are maintained by various athletic groups and youth organizations abroad. Occasionally American young people have been introduced to them and have found them a meeting ground with youth of other lands. Now the movement has spread to the United States with the establishment of the first hostel in East Northfield, Massachusetts. Its directors, Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Smith, are organizing a number of tours for young people which will make use of hostels abroad. Groups are limited to ten members. The rate is $290, third class throughout, for ten weeks. Address Monroe Smith, American Youth Hostel Association, East Northfield, Massachusetts.

Sorland, an international boys' camp on the southern tip of Norway, will take twenty-four American boys this summer; the other twenty-four boys will come from various points in Europe. The age group is twelve to fifteen years. The boys spend forty days in camp, and have two weeks of sightseeing in England, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Belgium, and Paris. The rate is $300, with third class on the ocean. Address the director, T. Langaard, Box 106, Provo, Utah.

An unusual Scandinavian trip has been arranged by *Ann Mathea Goodell,* herself a Norwegian by birth, for six boys and six girls above the age of sixteen. She has chartered two Norwegian Coast Guard boats—auxiliary yawls—each manned by two members of the Coast Guard, for a cruise along the coasts of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The itinerary will include walking trips in the mountains in the company of Norwegian young people and visits in Norwegian homes. The groups will also travel overland to Stockholm. Mrs. Goodell will be in charge of the girls and a man counselor will be on the boys' boat. The expense of the entire trip, tourist class on the Atlantic, first class on the North Sea, is $600 for two months. Address Ann Mathea Goodell, Concord Road, Wayland, Massachusetts.

Correspondence

Mr. Stolberg's Difficulty

To the Editors of The Nation:

It is unfortunate that Benjamin Stolberg, ordinarily an able writer, should present so careless and inaccurate an article on so important a subject as Black Chauvinism, in the May 15 issue of *The Nation.*

Mr. Stolberg shows a sketchy acquaintance with the various types of Negro leadership that have risen and waned during the past thirty years, and he displays a pitiful ignorance of facts which should be known to any writer attempting to analyze chauvinistic trends in that leadership. On occasion, the writer's ignorance leads him into positive misstatements and gross unfairness, as in the case of his reference to the National Urban League as having "supplied strike-breakers in Chicago, Cleveland, and other industrial centers." An informed person would know that for over fifteen years the league has consistently deplored strike-breaking, has promoted unionization of Negro labor, and has even offered to pay one-half the expenses of a Negro national organizer to work from A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington—an offer that was refused. Though local affiliates, independently administered, do sometimes lag behind the National Urban League in matters of policy, Mr. Stolberg must know of the New York Urban League's efforts in unionizing Harlem workers and of its recent refusal to supply five hundred Negroes to help break the elevator operators' strike.

Further inaccuracies appear in Mr. Stolberg's statement that ". . . the black masses naturally fell for the likes of Marcus Garvey. Today they are falling for Father Divine, who claims to be 'God.'" At its height, the Garvey movement enrolled less than fifty thousand of the eleven million Negroes in America—hardly an example of mass enrolment. Father Divine today has a lunatic following of a few thousand Negroes and whites, principally in the metropolitan district. A trade-union rally would draw far more workers in Harlem today than a rival Divine meeting.

Mr. Stolberg's difficulty is typical of the ambitious writer who has too close acquaintance with a metropolitan group and too little with the hinterland. One who writes of the "black masses" should remember that 350,000 Negroes live in Greater New York, but that twelve million live in the country as a whole. Of this number, nine million are in the deep rural South.

New York, May 10 L. B. Granger, Secretary,
Workers' Bureau, National Urban League

De-segregation and Revolution

To the Editors of The Nation:

Benjamin Stolberg seems to be capable of directing his shafts with equal venom against both our capitalist economy and the Communist Party. There can be no doubt that Mr. Stolberg is fully aware that one of the foremost planks in the platform of the Communist Party is that for unity of black and white in the struggle against capitalism and its offspring, war and fascism. Why then does he castigate the Communist Party and a dozen lines farther on ask for the very things which the Communist Party desires? I am sure that he realizes that the de-segregation he seeks is something that can be attained only by an upheaval which would shatter, with capitalism, all our pet hates and superstitions.

Mr. Stolberg has ably pointed out the abortive results of the respectable leaders' fight for the Negro's place in the sun. He ascribes their failure to their lack of a "modern economic program." Since he does not further define this program, I think I am justified (particularly after Critique of Chaos) in assuming it to be a Marxist program, or at least a plan for a profitless economy. I believe that Mr. Stolberg will admit that that, too, is the desire of the Communist Party.

Lastly, the question of Father Divine and May Day. Father Divine's followers seek peace, which quest goes hand in hand with the fight against war and fascism. Mr. Stolberg, possibly justifiably, accuses Father Divine of accepting support from reactionary sources and of exploiting his followers. (No one has ever proved this but neither has it been disproved, so we will accept it for the purposes of the argument.) Now, just as a Communist-A. F. of L. united front would not mean a Communist-Matthew Woll front, so was this united front for May Day not formed with Father Divine but with his followers, who are sufferers under our system just as much as are the members of the dressmakers' union. His followers seek peace. They feel they can get it by calling Father Divine God and marching with placards proclaiming peace and the divinity of their leader. If the result is not peace but rather a policeman's club, a certain striking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

parallel may be drawn with an occasion when the Russian people marched one day to the Czar's palace. The citizens wanted bread, and led by priests they bore the Czar's picture proudly aloft. Instead of bread they were greeted with the bullets of the palace guardsmen. Twenty-one days later these same Russian workers were in the streets again, but this time they dispensed with priests and their cry was not for bread, for this was the revolution of 1905.

But perhaps Mr. Stolberg abhors revolutions.

Brooklyn, May 16 LEONARD S. WEGMAN

The Ukrainian Famine

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I read with interest Louis Fischer's article in *The Nation* for March 13 attacking the authenticity of articles purporting to describe recent famine conditions in Russia, written by a certain Mr. Walker. Irresponsible reporting, whether it takes the form of inventing famines or of concealing them, is certainly subject to condemnation.

It seems to me that Mr. Fischer's article would have gained in balance if it had included some reference to the fact that Russia, during the winter of 1932-33 and the spring of 1933, experienced one of the worst famines in its history. I traveled through two of the main famine regions, Ukraina and the North Caucasus, in the latter part of September and the early part of October, 1933—as soon, in fact, as the Soviet authorities lifted the ban which they had imposed for about six months on any travel in famine-stricken parts of Russia by foreign correspondents. I shall limit myself to three brief excerpts from the notes which I took on this trip, the bona fide character of which Mr. Fischer may verify, if he chooses, by reference to the regulation records of the local Soviet authorities.

> KAZANSKAYA, NORTH CAUCASUS—President of the local Soviet, Nemov, denying assertions of the peasants that a third of the local population died of hunger and related disease during past winter and spring, told me that 850 out of 8,000 inhabitants of Kazanskaya perished during preceding year.
>
> CHERKASS, UKRAINA (village near Belaya Tserkov)—Secretary of the local Soviet, Young Communist named Fishenko, told me that about 600 of the village's former population of approximately 2,000 died during previous winter and spring. Extraordinary number of deserted, half-ruined homes.
>
> ZHUKE, UKRAINA (near Poltava)—In first peasant house, entered at random, found fourteen-year-old girl who said mother and four brothers and sisters died of hunger. She and her father were sole survivors.

I have communicated these and many other typical facts of Russia's essentially political famine of 1932-33 in newspaper and magazine articles and in book form without, to the best of my knowledge, encountering a single case of specific or reasoned contradiction or refutation from any source, Russian or foreign. I should welcome it if anyone with a knowledge of the Russian language or with a trustworthy interpreter would visit Kazanskaya, Cherkass, or Zhuke and find out from personal investigation whether my accounts of what happened there in 1932-33 were in any way distorted or exaggerated. I think such an investigation would provide a useful addition to the knowledge of Soviet conditions possessed by the average American of liberal or radical views, even if it did involve some risk of diminishing the "enthusiasm and faith" which, according to Mr. Fischer, "left groups feel as a result of the great economic progress registered by the Soviet Union since 1929." I characterize this famine as a political famine because it was the sequel and result not of any overwhelming natural catastrophe, in the form of drought or flood, but of years of arbitrary and excessive requisitioning of the peasants' food supplies and of driving them, very much against their will in most cases, into collective farms, and because the Soviet authorities made no adequate attempt to relieve the famine themselves and did everything in their power, by refusing to permit foreign journalists to travel in the affected area until the famine was over, to prevent any account of the conditions in Ukraina and the North Caucasus from reaching the outside world and exciting any movement for relief. The territory affected by famine—Ukraina, the North Caucasus, considerable districts of the Lower and Middle Volga, and Turkestan—have a population of over fifty million. Every district which I personally visited had a death-rate of at least 10 per cent.

I feel justified in recalling my personal observations of this famine because, although it happened two years ago, I think it will probably still be "news" to readers of *The Nation* who depend on Mr. Fischer for their knowledge of Russian developments. I have searched in vain in Mr. Fischer's well-informed and sometimes brilliant articles on other phases of Soviet life for a single forthright, unequivocal recognition of the famine, although he was in Russia during the period of the famine and was scarcely ignorant of something that was common knowledge of Russians and foreigners in the country at that time.

I agree with Mr. Fischer that it is reprehensible to invent tales of non-existent famines and massacres in Russia in order to bolster up one set of political and economic theories. I also believe that it is open to criticism to ignore, or to refer in misleading euphemistic terms, to one of the greatest human catastrophes since the World War, even if the motive is to create faith in and enthusiasm for a different set of political and economic theories.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Tokyo, Japan, March 31

Louis Fischer's Interpretation

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Mr. Chamberlin is wrong in saying that I was in the U. S. S. R. during the famine of 1932-33. I left the country in December, 1932, and returned in June, 1933. Nevertheless, on July 12 (see *The Nation* for August 9, 1933) I wrote from Moscow about the difficult period in the first half of 1933 when "many people simply did not have sufficient nourishment." In my article in *The Nation* of April 18, 1934, if Mr. Chamberlin had really searched "for a single forthright, unequivocal recognition of the famine," he would have found the unequivocal words "the 1933 Ukrainian famine." And if he wishes to read more about the same subject, pages 170-171-172 of my new book, "Soviet Journey," are devoted to it. There, too, I discuss famine and starvation among Ukrainian peasants. His implication, therefore, that I have "ignored" the famine or referred to it in "misleading euphemistic terms" is unfair.

But Mr. Chamberlin will discover in my book that my understanding of the famine is very different from his. He has, in many of his writings and in his letter, placed the blame solely on the Soviet government. In my book I quote a violently anti-Bolshevik source to the effect that the difficulty was due to the widespread passive resistance of the peasants, as a result of which "whole tracts were left unsown" and between 20 and 50 per cent of the crop deliberately allowed to rot on the fields. I myself saw, all over the Ukraine in October, 1932, huge stacks of grain which the peasants had refused to gather in and which were rotting. This, I write, "was their winter's food. Then those same peasants starved." Mr. Chamberlin has falsely interpreted the famine, and some Americans, unfortunately, have accepted his interpretation. If the famine was "man-made," the peasants were the men who made it. To be sure, the government was not blameless. I speak in my book of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Moscow's "high-handed measures," which the peasant answered with passive resistance, and I express the hope that the Bolsheviks have learned "that they must not compel the peasantry to attempt such resistance." My treatment, I believe, is fair because I divide the blame between both parties. Mr. Chamberlin's treatment is unfair because one-sided.

Moreover, nobody with any understanding of statistics will accept Mr. Chamberlin's estimate of famine deaths which he made on the basis of unchecked, hearsay evidence in five or six villages of a country inhabited by 50,000,000 people. This method is most unreliable and unscientific.

If I thought the editors would grant me the space I would say more about Mr. Chamberlin's recent writings on the U. S. S. R. It should at least be stated that Mr. Chamberlin wrote about the famine while he was in Moscow. His articles were printed while he was in Moscow, and nothing happened to him. This gives the lie to the impression he has so assiduously attempted to cultivate that one cannot criticize or comment adversely upon Soviet events from Moscow. *Nation* readers know that I have attacked Stalin and the GPU, certainly delicate subjects, without reservation. I write what and as I please. Only I am convinced that the trend of Soviet developments is steadily and rapidly forward. In emphasizing this trend, therefore, I create a correct impression. Those prejudiced observers who harp on difficulties and mistakes distort the picture. The art of reporting is selection. Many correspondents select true facts to tell untruths.

Moscow, May 9 LOUIS FISCHER

Holding-Company Abuses

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I agree with you that there have been plenty of abuses as far as certain public utilities are concerned, but your recent article on holding companies, by A. Wilfred May, is absurd. For example, the author, speaking of the Washington Railway and Electric Company, says: "This company paid a special dividend of $20 per share . . . which this year caused a deficit." This is a complete perversion of the facts, and can only be described as an absolute untruth, since Washington last year earned $60 a share. The $20-a-share dividend may look high to the uninitiated, but when you consider that the paid-in investment in the property is more than $460 a share, and that for twenty years the stockholder has received next to nothing, this dividend, instead of milking the company and making poorer the poor bondholder, whose coupon was earned many times over, is simply a belated recognition of the rights of the poor stockholder, since the public has had the benefit of his money for the last twenty years without his receiving any adequate compensation.

Philadelphia, May 1 WILLIAM STIX WASSERMANN

A. Wilfred May Replies

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

With regard to the alleged untruth of my statement that the payment of the $20 special dividend by the Washington Railway and Electric Company caused a deficit, I wish to say that my authority is the annual financial statements of the company, as certified by Price, Waterhouse and Company, and as corroborated by Standard Statistics Company. These show that as of 1933 operations, this special dividend caused a deficit of $423,982, and as of 1934, a loss of $65,472.

With regard to the citation of the paid-in investment in the property, it is high time that the non-"uninitiated" lost their illusions about plant investment and book surplus: *vide* the financial history of so many of our railroads, textile plants, and others, which expired on the death-beds of huge theoretical surpluses consisting of plant investment. Apparently my vital point that the 1934 dividend payment reduced the working capital from $2,926,233 to $2,208,893 is uncontroverted.

With regard to the complaint that "for twenty years the [Washington] stockholder has received next to nothing," the stockholder actually received a total of $120 in dividends in the years 1914-33.

For many years the situation in American finance has been that the corporate bondholder has invested the capital necessary for the building up of industries and corporate entities, with the prospect of receiving merely the return of his principal and limited interest; apart from the multitudinous abuses committed against him, he has at best had everything to lose and nothing to gain. Your correspondent's plea for the "poor stockholders" (in this case, the North American Company as holder of 95 per cent of its subsidiary stock) and his description of my conclusions as "absurd" seem excellently illustrative of our growing national policy of "the creditor be damned."

New York, May 15 A. WILFRED MAY

[In next week's issue *The Nation* will publish a communication from J. F. Fogarty, president of the North American Company, in answer to Mr. May's article, and a reply by Mr. May.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Radical Verse

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I am starting work on a series of pamphlet anthologies of radical verse to be issued by the Student League for Industrial Democracy. I should be grateful for any help that *Nation* readers can give in suggesting particular poems, authors, books, and magazines for our consideration. Our first pamphlet will consist of poems on war, but we shall welcome leads on all types of radical poetry. Address the undersigned at 2917 Avenue N, Brooklyn, New York.

Brooklyn, May 15 JACOB DRACHLER

Contributors to This Issue

CAREY MCWILLIAMS, a Californian, is the author of "Ambrose Bierce."

SAMUEL WEINMAN is the author of a pamphlet, "Hawaii," and of many magazine articles on the American colonies.

WILLIAM SEAGLE was assistant editor of the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences" until its recent completion.

JOHN ROTHSCHILD is director of the travel bureau The Open Road.

A. J. MUSTE is the National Secretary of the Workers' Party of the United States.

CLARA GRUENING STILLMAN is the author of "Samuel Butler."

MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH is the director of Greenwich House in New York.

LIONEL ABEL contributes reviews and verse to various literary periodicals.

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE, formerly the editor of the *New Freeman,* is the author of "Art in America."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor and Industry

"Like One of the Family"

By HEYWOOD BROUN

IN a day and age when organization is beginning to push into industries where it was unknown before it seems strange that no very serious attempt has been made to unionize domestic servants. The necessary first step, of course, would be to change the name to "houseworkers." The difficulties of successful organization are obvious enough, but they should not stand in the way, for the need is very great. Housework is probably one of the very few industries in which there is absolutely no standard of hours. Pay is generally low, and working conditions run the gamut from good to abominable.

As yet no encouragement has been held out to houseworkers by Washington. General Johnson had at least one request that a code be written, and replied that he was considering the matter. That was the end of the movement. The Wagner labor-disputes bill, which has just been passed by the Senate, excludes domestic servants from its prohibition of "unfair practices" on the part of the employer. It is axiomatic that strong unions get more out of legislation than weak ones and as yet the government has held that it is no part of its function actually to go into the task of organizing labor. In order to gain relief houseworkers will probably have to achieve at least a skeleton organization on their own momentum.

Even though it may be granted that forming an organization would be difficult, it is by no means impossible, nor is it true that no proper standards of wages and hours can possibly be set. The houseworker is under the disability of the same tradition which affects newspaper reporters and doctors. A very large body of public opinion holds that their work is never done. When the attempt is made to organize houseworkers, we shall hear the scornful question whether it is reasonable to have the butler put on his coat and go home at his appointed quitting time even if the guests still linger over their salad. The answer is that pay or additional time off for overtime might be established.

Undoubtedly opposition will be bitter against any kind of organization. There will be the usual silly sort of talk about, "No cook is going to tell me what kind of vegetables I am going to have for dinner." And undoubtedly we shall be informed that a man's house is his castle and that the sanctity of the home must be preserved. All this should be brushed aside in considering the fact that the turnover in housework is whimsical and prodigious. The servant who happens to offend the most crotchety of employers may find herself virtually blacklisted by the refusal of a reference. It is by no means uncommon for a houseworker to pay an employment office a fee for a job which is snatched away within twenty-four hours.

In all differences between employer and employee the employer sits in the driver's seat, but this is peculiarly true of the domestic servant. Some article around the house is mislaid or missing, and a servant is dismissed under a cloud. Is there any other job in which an employee may have to submit to the indignity of having her belongings ransacked before she is allowed to leave? I do not know whether this practice is legal but it is certainly done on many occasions.

Housewives are fond of saying that the lot of the servant is singularly easy because she gets her board and lodging for nothing and maybe some of her clothes. These are the very factors which degrade the worker. The business of "living in" virtually puts the houseworker on call twenty-four hours a day. It robs him or her of any possible privacy and association with friends and family. Forty years ago one day a month off was the traditional allowance. This has grown to once a week or once every other week, but it is difficult for the houseworker to plan ahead in regard to her spare time since in many households the day off is subject to last-minute change at the will of the employer.

The labor of the domestic servant is certainly a commodity in that it is bought by many in the cheapest possible market. I distinctly recall the complaint of a well-to-do woman that relief made it impossible for her to obtain servants for less than $6 a week. The so-called security of the houseworker in times of depression is wholly fictional. Domestic servants are the first to feel hard times. Our newspapers are filled in bleak periods with the stories of the heroism of Mr. and Mrs. K who have gone to live in a little farmhouse and abandoned their great estate.

But aside from hours and wages, the whole tradition of master and servant in our democracy is tainted with anachronism. A worker who has a perfectly dignified and legitimate service to sell finds herself under the necessity of being called by her Christian name and bawled out by someone who is an utter stranger. Office workers may think their lot a hard one, but even in the most hard-boiled office the employee is rarely spoken to in the terms which people often use toward servants. Any kind of organization would lend dignity to a calling which is essentially wholly honorable and necessary. There lingers an unconscious assumption that a houseworker is a serf or a bound servant.

Such progress as has been made in the last few years to a better standard is for the most part due to the attitude of Negro houseworkers. In New York, at least, colored maids and cooks are loath to "live in." In spite of Harlem's high rents they are generally insistent upon going home when the day's work is done. Save in the case of children's nurses it seems to me that this is a reform which should be fostered. In a subtle way it alters the whole relationship for the better. It gives the houseworker a sense of being upon the same footing as other employees. It marks the limitations of the job.

Many a touching novel or play has been written about the devotion of the old servitor. In the melodramas he used to turn up in the last act and lift the mortgage with his own savings. Indeed, the whole tradition of fiction is to sentimentalize the task. But the day is at hand when the houseworker will no longer be content to be treated "like one of the family." He has a right to demand something better than that.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Toledo Thriller

By A. J. MUSTE

Toledo, May 14

THE events of the last twenty-four hours in Toledo in connection with the wind-up of the strike in the Chevrolet transmission plant constitute a dramatic and highly significant chapter in American labor history. Had the strike continued, it would have shaken to their foundations General Motors, the top leadership of the American Federation of Labor, and the Roosevelt Administration. The strike is off—for the present. But what we now have is not peace but an uneasy truce.

Francis Dillon, leading A. F. of L. figure in the federal automobile unions, was barred from speaking last night, by unanimous vote, at the meeting of Chevrolet strikers called to consider a compromise settlement. Dillon had prevented the General Motors workers in Flint from coming out in support of the Toledo strikers and had even condoned their working on scab Chevrolet transmissions. A chorus of boos shook the rafters as Dillon stalked out of the hall and shouted that their A. F. of L. charter was withdrawn and that, if a personal reference may be made, they could "let Muste run their union for them." In an hour Dillon was back, the strikers having reversed their decision on the plea of Jimmy Roland, left-wing strike chairman, who wanted fair play even for Dillon and was confident that the men would repudiate the company offer no matter what Dillon might say. Dillon was followed by Fred Schewvake, business agent of the local union, which includes about nineteen plants in addition to Chevrolet. Schewvake was popular among the men, having been put in office by the progressives in succession to one Ramsay who had played a questionable role in the Auto-Lite strike last year. Schewvake had said in the afternoon that he would rather lose his right arm than advise the men to accept the company offer, but he buckled under Dillon's threat that if the offer were rejected the union's charter would be revoked. (Dillon, of course, is opposed to all dictatorships, fascist or communist.) Schewvake talked about the seriousness of losing the charter, the power of General Motors, and so on.

A secret vote was taken and the result was 732 to 385 for accepting the General Motors-Dillon proposal! Everybody, even those who had voted for acceptance, was stunned. Militants broke down and wept. Some workers tore up their union books. Many talked about keeping up the picket lines in defiance of the vote. But tonight, just before the first shift went in on the hated compromise terms, more than a thousand strikers appeared at a mass-meeting, booed every mention of Dillon's name, and vowed that the next battle against General Motors would make this one look like a tea party. When you consider that five weeks ago there was only a handful of union members in the Chevrolet plant; that when they struck they closed the plant so tight that the executive vice-president of General Motors could not get in without permission from the picket captain; that 30,000 workers in General Motors plants came out in support of them or were laid off for lack of essential parts, while an additional 40,000 were losing one day's work a week or more in steel and glass plants; that General Motors was losing a million and a half dollars a week, and after having repeatedly vowed that there would be no negotiations until the men went back to work changed its mind and negotiated with the rank-and-file committee; that the Automobile Labor Board was fatally undermined by this strike—when you consider all this you will understand how one is left breathless by these events.

To understand the swift attack of these Toledo workers on General Motors and their aggressive attitude toward the present leaderhip of the A. F. of L. it is necessary to recall the Auto-Lite strike of a year ago and its aftermath. That strike nearly died on its feet, as was pointed out in *The Nation* of June 6, 1934, because of the passive attitude of the leadership of the infant federal union toward an injunction. It was revived by a group of members of the Lucas County Unemployed League and the Workers' Party, who, together with some militant unionists, openly defied the injunction and worked up a mass picket line which culminated in the attack of ten thousand workers on the Auto-Lite plant. Thus a partial victory was wrested from defeat, and the great series of strikes in 1934 was started.

The progressives did not rest on their laurels after that strike. They extended their knowledge of the labor movement. They organized to drive weaklings and reactionaries out of office in the union. In every strike thereafter unions and unemployed leagues cooperated. The result was a succession of victories for Toledo labor. In recent months the federal auto union in particular steadily increased its membership, organized one automobile-parts plant after another, and gained signed agreements with nineteen plants. Though this was not evident five weeks ago, it is now clear that the growth, victories, and prestige of the union so impressed the Chevrolet workers that when the speed-up resulting from the company's frantic efforts for production drove the men to desperation, they turned to the union and immediately acted like seasoned fighters.

As I have stated, the reaction of the Chevrolet men to the unsatisfactory settlement which gives wage increases but not real union recognition is not demoralization, but a feeling that they have now been tested in the fire of experience and are better able than before to deal both with the corporation and with spineless A. F. of L. officials. The militants, furthermore, have already decided to organize locally and to utilize the contacts which they have made to build a national organization of militants in the automobile unions. This is the most significant development in the whole situation. In the past the fatal defect in the new as well as the old unions has been the lack of a trained, disciplined, organized group of militants who could match the astuteness and power of the trade-union bureaucrats. Now there is a chance that the international union in automobiles which the A. F. of L. will soon be compelled to charter will be controlled by healthy new elements.

The settlement of the issue of unionism in automobiles has been postponed by the compromise wind-up of the To-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ledo strike. But because of the militancy of the Toledo workers, their effective exposure of the Federation's fear of a large-scale strike and its readiness to resort to any methods in order to prevent such a strike, and the increasingly compact organization of the progressives, it may be predicted that while this Toledo strike may not immediately touch off a series of spectacular conflicts such as followed the Auto-Lite strike last year, it will in the long run be of the greatest significance in the struggle to put an end to company unionism and the open shop in the automobile industry.

Labor Notes

A New Enforcement Technique

THOSE who have followed the history of Section 7-a are aware that Blue Eagle removals and injunction proceedings instituted through the Department of Justice have proved feeble enforcement measures. Mr. Ickes, in his capacity as Oil Administrator, has just had recourse to a new device. He has requested the Secretary of the Navy and the Procurement Division of the Treasury not to entertain bids for government petroleum business on the part of the Texas Company and the Continental Oil Company. Both companies have refused for many months to comply with decisions of the Petroleum Labor Policy Board declaring them guilty of violations of Section 7-a. The defiance of the Texas Company runs back to December 11, 1934, when the board ordered the dissolution of a company union found to have been imposed upon the employees of the West Tulsa, Oklahoma, refinery. The defiance of Continental Oil dates from November 10, 1934, when the board ordered the reinstatement of several employees found to have been the victims of discrimination at the Hominy, Oklahoma, properties. Mr. Ickes bases his request for discipline on the Executive Order of March 14, 1934, which requires that all bidders for government business file certificates of compliance with their codes. We shall await with interest the response of the Secretary of the Navy and the Procurement Division. Memories of the Colt case suggest that employers who deal with the military and naval establishments may lead a charmed life—relatively free from the burden of Section 7-a, codes, and executive orders.

Forced Labor in Michigan?

ALTHOUGH Detroit is in the throes of a boom, relief rolls in the rest of the state are not decreasing. They are kept at a high mark in part by the seasonal influx of Mexican and other alien labor into the sugar-beet fields. Whole families are recruited in Texas and New Mexico by the large sugar companies and transported to Michigan, where they work at peon's wages to the exclusion of the local American agricultural worker. But a scheme is afoot, apparently fathered by the sugar companies themselves, to get native labor back to work. Dr. William Haber, the state emergency relief director, has spoken seriously of forcing workers on relief to go into the beet fields, now that wages have been lowered, under threat of being denied all further assistance. At the same time he admits that his department is powerless to win higher wages or better working conditions in the fields. In other words, Michigan has a perfect set-up for a venture into forced labor. If the sugar-beet scheme, about the origin of which Haber is necessarily vague, is successful, even the most casual observer can see the direction in which we are heading.

WINNER OF THE
PULITZER PRIZE
for the Year's Best History

CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS'
THE
Colonial Period of American History
The Settlements

"One of the most important recent additions to American historical writing."—*N. Y. Times.* The definitive work of the Dean of American Colonial historians. A vigorous, dramatic volume that gives to the Colonial period of our history a new aspect and a new perspective. 555 pages. $4.00

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
New Haven, Conn.

A DOZEN SOVIET UNION TOURS
this summer

Interpretative Leadership—
Louis Fischer, Dr. Joshua Kunitz, Julien Bryan, General Victor A. Yakhontoff, Herbert Adolphus Miller, Upton Close, Francis A. Henson, Ellen Starr Brinton, John Bovingdon, Ivan M. Elchibegoff.

A Trip for Every Purse—
Some as economical as possible, others generously comfortable—but all comprehensive, giving a rounded picture of Soviet life.

Reliably Inclusive Rates
Complete Services
Expert and Painstaking Administration

The Open Road also renders valuable assistance to those who prefer to travel on their own.

Write for booklets

The OPEN ROAD
(12th Floor)
8 W. 40th Street, New York

Cooperating with
INTOURIST

Moscow University Summer School
9½ weeks
of travel and study
$369 to $379
Including Passage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Films

Men and Women

Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies. By Margaret Mead. William Morrow and Company. $3.

MISS MEAD has a thesis to prove. Her fellow anthropologists will have to argue it with her, and it will be up to them to decide whether or not her three case histories furnish a broad enough base upon which to rest so sweeping a generalization. Indeed, even the layman can hardly help feeling a certain surprise at the readiness with which all the facts discovered in the course of her investigation seem to play into her hands, or fail to find something almost providential in the fact that the three primitive societies perfectly calculated to support her contention should be found cheek by jowl on the same Pacific island. But whatever other anthropologists may have to say—and Miss Mead is of course an observer of repute who has earned every right to credence—one thing is certain: her book is among the most thoroughly entertaining works in any genre to be published in a long, long time. Very soon the reader will find himself forgetting anthropology as a science and chuckling with pure delight over a book which combines the charm of "Gulliver's Travels" and "Erewhon" with that of "Alice in Wonderland." Miss Mead is a scientist, but it so happens besides, not only that she has fallen upon some extraordinary material, but also that she writes with a full appreciation of its human interest and with what seems like a delight in logical topsyturvydom for its own sake.

What could be more according to the method of Swift or of Samuel Butler than a voyage which takes you, first, to a land where everybody is womanly; then to a land where everybody is manly; and, finally, to one where the men are womanly and the women manly? Nor is this an unfairly sensational description of the plan of the book. In New Guinea the Arapesh-speaking people live in an extremely tranquil, cooperative society where a perpetual gift-making takes the place of commerce and where everyone is so polite and non-competitive by habit that they have, for variety's sake, to appoint a special class trained from youth to put up some poor pretense of vehemence and selfishness. Instead of competing for the ownership of the land they are constantly concerned lest some poor lonesome piece of property be left without someone to look after it; instead of insisting upon male domination they admire only the "womanly" virtues in either sex; and they are so thoroughly maternal in their whole conception of life that the men not only take an equal share in the rearing of children but are thought actually to participate in controlling the process of gestation and in suffering the physiological drains of child-bearing. On the other hand, the Mundugumor, their next-door neighbors to the southeast, are surly head-hunting cannibals living in a society based upon an ideal of perpetual hostility guaranteed by a complicated system of hereditary intra-family enmities, which, for example, make it inevitable that fathers and sons should hate each other and that the only permissible public contact between brothers should take the form of abuse or combat. The men berate their wives for giving birth to children, they invariably "speak roughly to their little boys," and the women, far from being encouraged to be womanly, are forced by tradition to be Lady Macbeths. To complete the pattern, the Tchambuli, also next door to the Arapesh but to the northwest, insist as strongly as we do upon the difference between what is suitable to women and suitable to men, though their ideas are exactly the reverse of ours: women are expected to be serious, practical, and aggressive; the men spend their time in artistic creation, self-adornment, and small talk.

It should be added, moreover, that in all three cases the love patterns reflect the general tone of the society. The Arapesh are extremely affectionate but so little given to passion that they seem unfamiliar with the crisis of the sex act as a specific phenomenon and base their seldom-violated marriages primarily upon long, familiar acquaintance. The Mundugumor, on the other hand, prefer sudden feline encounters in the bush, demonstrate their passion by personal—and mutual—attack, and return to the community covered with scratches and bruises which they sheepishly explain by recourse to the primitive equivalent of a revolving door. When a Mundugumor man meets his father's sister or any of his father's female cousins, he—following the social custom—"slaps her on the back, tells her that she is getting old, will probably die soon, has a frightful-looking bone ornament in her nose, and tries to pull some areca-nut out of her carrying basket." Praise the good looks of a middle-aged Arapesh man and you will get for an answer: "Good-looking? Ye-e-s? But you should have seen him before he bore all those children."

From these and many other amusing facts Miss Mead concludes that those traits which our culture is inclined to refer to as "masculine" and "feminine" have no real basis in sex difference. Two types of character do exist, but either may be officially encouraged by society, and it is a mere arbitrary convention which regards one or the other as appropriate or natural to one sex or the other. All this seems inherently not improbable and abundantly supported by these facts at least, though one may take it for granted that not all anthropologists will allow the contention to stand unchallenged. Meanwhile "Sex and Society" deserves to be a best-seller by virtue of its entertainment value alone. Man is an extremely variable creature and this book, like all books of sound anthropology, amusingly demonstrates again how completely absurd was the old assumption that the primitive man was a "natural man." Miss Mead's Arapesh and Mundugumor are at least as tradition-ridden as any European and at least as far as he from that theoretical state of nature in which actions are regulated by either animal impulse or the uncorrupted reason which was once supposed to be the birthright of the noble savage. Perhaps civilized man on a camping trip gets close to nature; primitive man certainly is not.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Function of Literature

The Enjoyment of Literature. By Elizabeth Drew. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

A FEW months ago Compton Mackenzie asserted in his reminiscences that the tradition of literature is broken. The new world in process of being born is developing literary attitudes and expressions which are hardly recognizable to the old either as literature, attitude, or expression. A great gulf yawns between, across which eye cannot reach or mind conceive. But here comes Elizabeth Drew tripping gaily along, leading by the hand none other than Aristotle, in modern dress to be sure but still unmistakable, and takes the gulf in her stride as easily as anything. For Aristotle said that tragedy should not be expected to give every kind of pleasure, but only the kind proper to it, and this book is the extension of that idea to every kind of literature. Miss Drew takes up in turn the literature of gossip (letters), the essay, lyric poetry, biog-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raphy, the novel, epic and narrative poetry, and drama, and ends with a discussion of the critic and the world today. She takes us into the heart of every kind of book, analyzing, suggesting, quoting, communicating that vital delight that arises only out of thorough knowledge and wide sympathy to show us that literature is not only a refuge from life but a revelation of life, and that in the best literature refuge and revelation are one.

The fundamental nature of "escape" is not always understood by those who rail most against it. At one end of the scale it becomes of course pathological, and there are many intermediate degrees, but at the other it is simply creation. Living is escape from death and into a fuller life. When it ceases to be that, it begins to be death. And in art the catharsis of the artist and of the recipient is both escape and creation, or enrichment. The function of criticism, says Miss Drew, is to send people to literature to be delighted and enriched. Her book is not for "the assured and sophisticated," but may be a help to those "who need a more detailed and definite approach." This is a modest characterization, for the book has treasures for the initiated as well, if only by evoking delights half forgotten or reminding us that there are some we have omitted to taste.

CLARA GRUENING STILLMAN

The Village

Greenwich Village, 1920-1930. By Caroline F. Ware. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

THE world is perhaps a bit bored with "Greenwich Village," the "Left Bank," and "Chelsea." These places have lost their reality in their symbolism. We begin to think we know what is there because certain features have been spotlighted and have made an impression quite divorced from plain fact.

Professor Caroline Ware's book "Greenwich Village," the result of a two-year study under the auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, in collaboration with Greenwich House, analyzes in a most readable way the various elements contributing to the life of this urban district, and restores the proportional importance of the manifold groups of the area. To make a literary work of a sociological treatise is none too easy a task. But Miss Ware has succeeded in lightly veiling statistics and facts in a sprightly prose which the fireside and garden reader, as well as the student of sociology, will find enjoyable.

Perhaps a thirty-eight years' immersion in the life of this neighborhood has disqualified me from seeing the forest for the trees. There are, however, three villages: (1) the Village of the old "Americans"—especially the Irish and the Germans; (2) the Italian colony; and (3) the Village of "the Villagers" —artists, semi-artists, and pseudo-artists—who by reason of certain eccentricities or emphases have leaped to the front page from coast to coast. Miss Ware was careful to use participants of the various Village groups as surveyors. The hundred helpers in the study made it possible to obtain an inductive picture, while the cool detachment of the author provided the necessary critique of the findings. Political, religious, and national features of the Village are realistically presented. If the economic differentiations are not treated with the same thoroughness, that is possibly a natural lack of emphasis in a sociologist's book.

Miss Ware's major conclusion is that the Village has an unusually diverse background, outlook, and social pattern, this diversity being accentuated by the rapidly changing character of family life and economic opportunity. These conditions, together with the impact of such nation-wide influences as the radio and the motion picture, have broken down standards and freed localities from their age-long provincialism.

The total life of the Village is presented as that of separate groups with no distinguishing mark of unity. Am I wrong in saying that there is a unity, even if a somewhat nebulous one? I would depict that unity as the friendliness of the Village. There is a certain informality and freedom in this neighborhood; I do not mean the "bohemian" freedom of the "Villager" but a freedom which is evidenced by the homely custom of shopping without bothering to put on a hat. This friendliness has in it powerful elements of cohesion which exert their force across the loyalties of separated groups and are producing an emergent common life.

At Greenwich House we see this in the growing attendance of cross-sections of all the elements in the community. Not only in the music school, the pottery, the art classes of all kinds, but in the nursery school and kindergarten, in the clinics, the theater, the gymnasium groups, and even the dances, all groups come together as never heretofore. The depression, like the war, is a great leveler. But it is true that this growth of a common life in the Village has been much more marked since 1930, which was the end of the decade Dr. Ware studied.

Naturally, I am more interested in what this book can teach us who live in the Village than in its story, which had a scientific and not a purposive end in view. It contains many hints which can well be probed with the intent of eliciting from the neighborhood itself a greater measure of its resourcefulness. The book will perhaps have the effect of producing a healthful neighborhood self-consciousness, based on the more adequate knowledge of the community which it certainly provides. Like a good psychoanalysis for the individual, it may pave the way for more realistic progress in the art of civilized living.

MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH

Statesman in Uniform

Bliss, Peacemaker. The Life and Letters of General Tasker Howard Bliss. By Frederick Palmer. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

GENERAL BLISS was that rarest of personages, a statesman in uniform. A graduate of West Point, he entered the army in 1875, in the period of its greatest stagnation, and was assigned to the artillery, an especially backward branch. He did not become a captain until 1892, when he was thirty-nine years old, and then only by a transfer from the line to the staff. But the war with Spain brought him his opportunity. After the surrender he became collector of customs in Havana, where his spotless integrity, great efficiency, and tireless labors, plus his knowledge of Spanish, made him an outstanding personage and won him promotion to be brigadier general over the heads of hundreds of older officers. But whereas the "jumping" of Leonard Wood caused deep resentment in the army, Bliss's similar elevation from major was tolerated, or welcomed, as recognition of unquestioned merit. Wherever Bliss was stationed he showed his worth—as ruler of the Moros, in keeping peace on the Mexican border, as Assistant Chief of Staff in Washington.

Indeed, his efficiency as an executive, administrator, and commander of troops astounded most persons, for he was essentially the student. In 1917 there was probably no other regular officer who could read French, German, Spanish, and Russian. In addition, he was a remarkable classical scholar, who would have ornamented any university, and his avid reading of Latin never stopped until his death. His interests were world wide, and he had an amazingly sane and unemotional judgment of what was going on about him, especially when

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe went mad and the United States followed suit. He had, moreover, the rare quality of being able to hold his tongue even when things were said in his presence that stirred and antagonized him mightily. Later on at Versailles this stood him in good stead. The statesmen and generals with whom he sat there came to fear his silences as much as his fearless readiness to vote no if his conscience and judgment told him to do so. It was only natural that he should have been sent to France as the United States military representative on the Supreme War Council. It was a job as important as Pershing's, and his tact, skill, and admirable judgment often made him the final arbiter in the serious conflicts waged around the council table. But unfortunately for Bliss, his was not a spectacular job, nor could he exploit his position to his own renown as Leonard Wood and others would have done. His modesty and self-effacement forbade.

Next, as one who had been a member of the group which ran the war, he was appointed one of the five American peace commissioners—only to be ignored by Mr. Wilson. All Bliss's intimate knowledge of the situation in Paris, all his shrewd sizing up of the men with whom Mr. Wilson was to deal, by whom he was in part to be frustrated in his desire to achieve an honorable peace, the President brushed aside. General Bliss was permitted to see the President alone *only five times*—through that long winter of 1918-19! This was a tremendous misfortune, for General Bliss had never been carried away by hate and vindictiveness. As generals go, he was extraordinarily free from military cant and militaristic preachings. He was worth five hundred Colonel Houses in the soundness and depth of his thinking. It is not too much to say that if the President had followed the advice of General Bliss and Robert Lansing the whole story of the peacemaking would have been different.

Take, for example, General Bliss's magnificent stand against our selling our surplus arms in Europe:

> The arms which we brought to Europe in order to kill militarism and to bring an era of lasting peace, we are going to sell over the bargain counter to the new nations which we boasted we were going to usher into a world of peace. It would be bad enough if we sold for cash; but as a matter of fact we are selling for credit, the value of which will depend on the success of purchasers in killing a sufficient number of their neighbors. Our securities will be valuable only in proportion as they are stained with blood. Personally I would rather be taxed to my last dollar to pay for this material of war if we threw it into the sea than to have it sold for such purpose. And why should we not throw it into the sea? What more splendid object-lesson could the United States give to the world than utterly to destroy this material?

Fine words from a soldier with the four stars of a full general upon his shoulders! In fact, General Bliss was a really humane man who truly hated the war business. He demanded —in vain—that disarmament should be the first objective in founding the League of Nations. He was a courageous statesman, too, and he did not hesitate to write a vigorous protest to Wilson against the latter's betrayal of his own ideals in the surrender to Japan in the matter of Shantung. And when the abominable throwing away of the victory was at an end, Bliss exploded in righteous wrath to his wife:

> Tuesday we had a secret plenary seance to listen to a stupid exposition of the peace terms for the benefit of the smaller powers. *None of us had seen the treaty* [italics mine]. I have never seen such a glaring case of secret diplomacy, notwithstanding all our protestations. The outrageous yielding to Japan on Shantung could never have happened if it had not been done secretly. The protests of the world would have prevented it. Thank God my skirts are clear (or at least my conscience is) of any of the wrongdoing.

To Lansing he wrote of the "cant and hypocrisy of our American peace talk." Later on (June 16, 1919) he wrote:

> What a wretched mess it all is! If the rest of the world will let us alone, I think we had better stay on our own side of the water and keep alive the spark of civilization to relight the torch after it is extinguished over here. If I ever had any illusions, they are all dispelled.

Nothing of the blatant soldier of victory there! One of his remarks was amazingly prophetic: "We are in for a low period, a high period, then the devil will be to pay all over the world." The treaty, he felt, was "neither punitive nor constructive." And as for the future, it makes one shudder in the light of the situation in Europe to read his prophecy that the war would last "for forty years."

Mr. Palmer has on the whole done well with his subject —very well for one in whose eyes no soldier can ever do any wrong. His portrait of Bliss is just and his selections from the General's letters are excellent. He has set forth fully Bliss's remarkable contributions to the Supreme War Council and has not exaggerated the value of the service the General could have rendered as peace commissioner had his powers and judgment been used to the full. He does not hide General Bliss's inconsistency in exposing Wilson's cowardly surrender on Shantung (and on other things, too) and then whitewashing the President by saying that "in spite of any mistakes made, Mr. Wilson did what was *practicable* to save that civilization"—which is far from the whole truth. In short, Mr. Palmer has written an extremely useful if not brilliant biography—one that should be in any collection of books relating to the high command in the war. There are sentences in it which do not read and the style limps at other times, but these are minor defects in what is a solid job.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Metaphysics and Naivete

Winning a Wife. By Peter Neagoe. Coward-McCann. $2.50.

ONLY a few years back, when it seemed that the complexity of modern life must remain obdurate to the rationalizing efforts of the dramatic imagination, many writers went what Kenneth Burke calls "nudist"; that is, they tried to focus their vision on the essential acts and intentions of men, they wanted to get to "rock bottom," and the rock bottom of human action they believed was to be found among simple people who live violently and without reflection, who are brutal and inarticulate, and who cannot be brought by even the most disastrous circumstances across the frontiers of their naivete. The assumption was that when man is menaced by death and must react instinctively he is most real. You cannot be insincere when a bull is charging at you, reasoned the intellectual, who perceived insincerity and posturing behind the more complex human attitudes. Thus the concern of sophisticated contemporary writers with the violent acts of extremely simple people was essentially an epistemological and not a dramatic concern. A very sophisticated and false theory of knowledge underlay the desire to give dramatic expression to the experiences of primitive people whose lives are uncorrupted by any general ideas.

Peter Neagoe would doubtless deny that he is an epistemologist, concerned with a theory of knowledge, and deny also that he belongs to the school of writers who stem from Anderson and Hemingway. Mr. Neagoe would doubtless distinguish himself from the sophisticated seekers after sincerity and say that the short stories collected in "Winning a Wife" are descriptions of the Rumanian people as he knew them—that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it is not his fault if these people are naive and ignorant, or, like the protagonist in the story of Storm, morally insane. Yet even if Mr. Neagoe's dramatic intention differs from that of other contemporary celebrators of violence and naivete, the stories he has written have a similar charm and suffer from similar defects. They are bathed in the same philosophic atmosphere, and they will be admired by those who admire the productions of the literary primitivists and disliked by those who dislike those productions. If he was impelled to this mode of dramatic writing by a personal accident rather than by the more general problems which have led various writers to a method and subject matter similar to his own, the originality of his intention should not be overlooked. But as an expert writer of short stories he belongs clearly to the school I have discussed.

Charm Mr. Neagoe's writing assuredly has—charm, economy, and a practiced insight into the story-teller's craft. But I am frankly bored by his subject matter. And it is questionable whether writing of this sort can find as many sympathetic readers as it found five years ago. It is questionable whether many civilized people believe that human beings whose actions flow from their instincts like the corollaries from a proposition are unusually interesting or abundantly real. When our ideological orientation was involved in absurdities we could be taken in by an idealization of the primitive. But today we are not so muddled and can be interested in ourselves. We no longer feel the pathos of the intelligence; we know that our present difficulties would exhaust the greatest intellect. Hence we feel that where there is no reflection, there is little or no emotion; we feel that the appropriate attitude toward the ignorant is to wish to educate them, not to admire their superior simplicity. We are more likely to wish that they knew something of metaphysics than to think of converting their simplicity into a metaphysical principle.

Perhaps we may be wrong in this attitude; but even if we are, it forms an insuperable obstacle to the enjoyment of Mr. Neagoe's excellences as a writer. LIONEL ABEL

A Proletarian Artist

Hunger and Revolt. By Jacob Burck. The *Daily Worker*. $5.

JACOB BURCK, with bows to the struggling workers and to Boardman Robinson, Robert Minor, and Fred Ellis, presents in this beautifully made volume some 107 of his cartoons which have appeared in the *Daily Worker* during the past four years. The striking title of the book fairly indicates the nature of its contents, for Burck is a savage and powerful graphic critic of the spectacle afforded by the millions who live precariously on the edge of starvation because ownership would not profit by supplying their needs.

The work in the book is uneven in quality, as might be expected of a cartoonist working under the pressure of daily publication; but at his best Burck is an excellent draftsman who knows how to drive home his idea through the use of simple and powerful terms. Looking through this collection of graphic editorials on the political and economic aspects of the insanity which is our collective life, one is impressed anew with the advantage of the pictorial over the written message in simplicity, directness, and driving power. No words could sum up the economic idiocy of the "scarcity-mongering" policy of the AAA so concisely as the cartoon Capitalism Gone Mad; nor could words define the political idiocy of Upton Sinclair's Utopia-mongering campaign of last summer so well as does the cartoon Forward, in which Sinclair, a Don Quixote with lance and plume, sits facing backward toward socialism on the Democratic donkey, which is plunging forward to fascism.

The book, indeed, contains within itself ample proof that the cartoon can be more effective than the editorial. Comments are supplied by such Communists and fellow-travelers as Earl Browder, Clarence A. Hathaway, Henri Barbusse, and John Strachey, and, for one thing, these written criticisms tease the spirit of controversy as the pictures do not, because they inject an element of Communist ballyhoo which is not conspicuous in the pictures. One can go all the way with Mr. Burck in his section on unemployment; but when Mr. Michael Gold says that without the Communist Party's agitation "not a cent of relief would have been spent on the unemployed," one can't help reflecting that even if capitalists "have no human feeling except greed and fear" they could hardly have allowed seventeen million people to starve—it would have been too dangerous to themselves in a country which still retains the governmental forms of political democracy. It takes a dictator as powerful as Stalin to allow mass-starvation, and then to turn it into a political weapon, as described by William Henry Chamberlin in "Russia's Iron Age."

Mr. Burck's cartoons expose the iniquity of social injustice eloquently, as I have intimated. If he uses the bludgeon more frequently than the rapier, that is perhaps because of the mass-character of the publication for which he works. But it makes for monotony in the pages of this book. The use of symbolic figures, common to all cartoonists, not only precludes variety; it also precludes the humanity which is possible to the artist who satirizes types. Here the capitalist or the capitalist system is always the familiar fat man in the top hat; the worker is either emaciated or brawny and noble. These symbols serve their purpose as graphic revolutionary language, but there are revolutionary purposes which are not served by the use of such general terms—purposes which were served so eloquently by that greatest of proletarian artists, Daumier. Daumier's graphic annals of the poor, misshapen and dejected from incessant toil; his merciless lampoons upon those damned souls, the politicians; his powerful caricatures of the professional hangers-on of a predatory system, the doctors, lawyers, and priests—these unforgettable protests against injustice probe to the very depths of pity, terror, and disgust. They are horrible, and so they inspire horror of the injustice which made them possible, indeed imperative. And the secret of their revolutionary force lies in the artist's outraged love for his fellowman. Is it heresy to suggest that precisely this quality, with its tremendous urge to impassioned utterance, seems weakest in the revolutionary critics, both artists and writers, of our day? SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

Shorter Notices

Act of Darkness. By John Peale Bishop. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

John Peale Bishop's tale of lust and hatred in a stagnant West Virginia town makes a thoroughly unsatisfactory novel, though a fitfully impressive one. It might have been a walloping psychological horror story, or it might have been a run-of-the-mill account of adolescence, but "Act of Darkness," as Mr. Bishop has written it, is an imperfect blend of the two. The principal characters in the novel are a sensitive literary youth and his Uncle Charlie, whose trial for the rape of a Southern spinster forms the center of the story. Now, in the construction of his book Mr. Bishop, though he appears to fancy himself as an amateur of the human heart, has overlooked an important element in his reader's psychology. It is almost inevitable that any reader, average or abnormal, will find the crime and character of Uncle Charlie infinitely more absorbing than the introspective fumblings of his youthful

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PLAYS

BLACK PIT

"One of ten best."
—Brooks Atkinson

LAST 2 WEEKS!!!
THEATRE UNION'S New Dramatic Hit
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE
14 St. and 6 Ave.: Eves., 8:45, 30c to $1.50
Matinees, Wed. and Sat., 2:30; 30c to $1

THEATRE of ACTION (formerly Workers Laboratory Theatre) presents

OPENS TUES. EVE. MAY 28th 8:45
PARK THEATRE
(formerly Cosmopolitan)
on Columbus Circle
Eves. 8:45. Matinees Sats., 2:45.
Prices 25c to $1.10

THE YOUNG GO FIRST
DRAMA of the CCC CAMPS
By Peter Martin, George Scudder, & Charles Freidman

THE THEATRE GUILD presents
PARADE
a satirical revue
with JIMMY SAVO
GUILD THEATRE, 52 St. West of Broadway.
Eves. 8:30, Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:30.

BOOKS

The National Recovery Administration
By
Leverett S. Lyon, Paul T. Homan, George Terborgh
Lewis L. Lorwin, Charles Dearing and Leon C. Marshall

This volume is the result of a study of the NRA which the authors have been making since its inauguration. The purpose of the study from its inception was to follow this great experiment objectively, to keep a record of its rapidly developing and swiftly changing form and activities, to appraise its significance as a governmental mechanism, and to analyze as far as possible its economic effects.

"Anyone who wants detailed substantiation, facts and figures, close and careful analysis, can do no better than study the forty chapters presented."
—THE NEW REPUBLIC

947 pages. Price, $3.50
Order from your bookseller or from
THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
Washington, D. C.

NEXT WEEK

The Socialist Party Today:

What's Wrong and Why

By BENJAMIN STOLBERG

nephew, and will therefore be impatient with the author's excessive attention to the latter's experiences and feelings. Yet, Mr. Bishop scants the elders who played out his dark drama. They are only half seen and hardly comprehended, and the whole novel gives the effect of a picture taken with the camera out of focus. There is no doubt that Mr. Bishop writes well. His book is surcharged with atmosphere, with gloom, with age and decay, with somber emotions and fearful compulsions. He has a definite and even a powerful talent, and one can only deplore the faulty judgment which allowed him to arrange his material so badly.

In Their Own Image. By Hamilton Basso. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

In this his second novel Mr. Basso exposes the selfishness, the ingrown corruption, and, to use his own word, the "unreality" of a cross-section of American aristocracy. With a few exceptions his wealthy landowners and decayed "old families" have no redeeming features; they are either repulsive or absurd. Mr. Basso views their antics with a good deal of penetration and a certain sly, ruthless humor that occasionally vents itself in caricature—which, considering his thesis, is not out of place. Caricature may after all be the most effective medium through which to convey that "unreality" which, he would have us believe, is the very core of their lives. One can only regret that Mr. Basso chose to spoil his novel—and, incidentally, weaken his point—by padding it toward the end with melodrama as "faked" and conventional as any that ever found its way into a Hollywood scenario. There is, for no apparent reason, one attempted suicide, and there are two murders which are not only extraneous to his plot but out of keeping with the fine skill with which he has developed it in the preceding pages. One would imagine that the spectacle of a society in the process of decay had enough horrors of its own without the introduction of fresh—or stale—ones.

Capitalism and Its Culture. By Jerome Davis. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

Professor Davis has diligently gathered together a wealth of specific and concrete material to illustrate the anarchic economic and moral conditions under capitalism. In his indictment of capitalism he analyzes its banking methods, the Stock Exchange, investment trusts, the relations of debts to production, its inability to provide adequate consumption power to the masses, and its tendency to imperialism. While the material is not new, Professor Davis has performed a real service in gathering together evidence from many different studies. In a second section on the Products of Capitalism he traces the corrupting influences of capitalism on the press, the church, the movies, the radio, education, and politics. This section does not really deal with the cultural presuppositions of capitalism but with the commercialization of cultural, recreational, and religious institutions. The analysis of the voluminous material, so carefully brought together, is not too profound. No effort is made to distinguish between defects in the social order which are definitely derived from the capitalistic social order and those which might express themselves in any conceivable order. Pages are devoted to prove the advantages of the British radio system—which exists under capitalism—over the American one. There are inconsistencies as well as superficialities in the analysis. Thus we are told in one sentence, "In the new system we must be ready to accept low salaries or no salaries, perhaps mere subsistence." In the same paragraph this admonition to asceticism is negated by the promise of a "collective economy which will make effective to all people the age of abundance which science has made possible." The concreteness of the book ought to commend it as good anti-capitalistic propaganda for general consumption.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

☐ SUMMER HOMES ☐

FOR SALE OR RENT

SUMMER SOLUTION—
for parents and children
STONYBROOK, WESTPORT, CONN.

Charming bungalows, open fireplaces, tennis, swimming, supervised camp activities for children. Reasonable rentals, easy commuting from New York. N. Y. Office, 1457 Broadway, Room 619. Tel. WIs 7-4149.

SIX rooms, all modern improvements, 2 bathrooms, fireplace, oil heating system. Apply J. Sanjour, Mohegan Colony, Peekskill, N. Y.

NINE rooms, year round house; central heat; all improvements; furnished or unfurnished; garage; fireplaces; fruit, shrubs; vegetable garden planted; ALSO four rooms; year round house; porch, garage; all improvements; cellar, furnished or unfurnished; fruit trees; garden; outhouse. 900 ft. above sea; OWNER, Box 225, Ridgefield, Conn. Phone 680.

FOR SALE

5 ACRES, wooded, secluded, accessible. Bungalow, all modern improvements. Garage. Studio. Brook. Must sell quickly. Box 373, Norwalk, Conn.

SECLUDED wooded land on Long Island Sound available for cooperative colony or individual ownership. Five minutes from bathing beach; within walking distance railroad station. 40 miles from New York. Box 608, % *The Nation.*

HOUSE with 5 acres, 45 miles out, Bronx River Parkway. Sale or rent with option. Sutta, 620 Montgomery St., Brooklyn.

WEST NYACK, N. Y. House, cottage, garage, outside playroom, fruit, woods, stone fences, terraced lawn, shade trees, 25 miles New York. Commutation $11.16. 30 acres, price $17,500. Terms. Dibble, "Nanuet 416" or VAnderbilt 3-1816.

APARTMENT TO SUBLET

BLEECKER GARDENS—Furnished apartment, 3 rooms, kitchen, roof garden, community garden. Available immediately, $65. Fox, 393 Bleecker Street.

FURNISHED, for the summer, 84 Remsen Street, Brooklyn Heights. Convenient to four subways; near the harbor, cool breezes; large rooms; open fireplaces. 2 rooms $40.00, 3 rooms $60.00, month. Jackson Bowers.

STUDIO, large, cool, kitchenette, Steinway Grand, radio victrola, Central Park. June to Sept. Reasonable rent. Padawer, 16 W. 68th St.

BLEECKER GARDENS. Charming duplex apartment, attractively furnished. Large garden with pool, trees, play space for children. Large quiet living room; balcony, and two large bedrooms. Two fireplaces. Cross ventilation. Sublet now to Oct. 1, Box 603, c/o The Nation, or call CHelsea 2-7206.

WRITER'S 3-room apartment, lower Manhattan. Completely furnished for The Good Life; pots, books, music, goldfish. Box 613, % *The Nation.*

SUBLET, charmingly furnished 2 room studio apartment, near 33 St. Kitchenette, frigidaire, bath shower. $35 per month. Marlowe, 177 Madison Ave.

APARTMENTS TO SHARE

MAN will share 5 room Penthouse with 2 other men or couple. June 1 to Oct. 1. $50 monthly. Box 614, % *The Nation.*

FURNISHED ROOM

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS. Pleasant room, private entrance, connecting bath, use of Steinway. 2 minutes Clark St. Station. MAin 4-4146.

☐ TRAVEL ☐

Visit SOVIET RUSSIA — TOURS 33 TO 60 DAYS $202.75 UP

For unforgettable impressions, join one of our Summer tours, conducted & independent.

FOR PHYSICIANS
Medical Health Resort Tour To U. S. S. R.—and
Physiological Congress June 29 to Sept. 2nd
The group will be conducted by Dr. Edward Cohen, an official of our bank, who has made 6 trips to Soviet Union.

Select Your Own Route or Any Below:
1. London, Leningrad, Moscow and other Soviet Cities. Warsaw, Vienna, Zurich and Paris.
2. London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsingfors, Leningrad, Moscow and other Soviet Cities. Warsaw, Vienna, Zurich and Paris.
3. Madeira, Gibraltar, Malaga, Monte Carlo, Genoa, Venice, Naples, Rome, Beyruth, Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, Istanbul, Odessa and other Soviet Cities, Warsaw, Vienna, Zurich and Paris.

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR TEACHERS

Write for booklet describing this and other trips.

SIX WEEKS IN MOSCOW UNIVERSITY—$176. INCL. MAINTENANCE.
AMALGAMATED BANK OF N. Y. 11-15 Union Sq. New York City

☐ SUMMER RENTALS ☐

APRIL FARMS, Coopersburg, Pa. Rooms and cabins for the summer season, also beautiful country house. Modern, electricity, running water. Ideal, quiet place, far from the "maddening crowd"—half a dozen families. Woodlands, swimmin' hole. Fresh farm products. $50.00 for the rooms, cabins less, house more. 100 miles from New York; 50 miles from Philadelphia. Greyhound busses to Allentown, Pa. Shall meet you with car.

FOR RENT—June 1-Oct. 1. Small 4 room bungalow, fireplace, screened porch, on high terrace facing Watchung Mts. Fully furnished, electricity, radio, ground beautifully landscaped, rustic, overlooking Congers Lake. Ideal fishing. Bathing Rockland Lake or old swimming hole nearby. 2 car garage. Ideal for couple. 28 miles from N. Y. Express train. $250 season. Call TRemont 8-4392.

CHOICE of four-room cottage or large seven-room house, overlooking beautiful brook. Modern improvements. Secluded. Phone Peekskill 2325 W.

DYKAAR Mansion—4510 Surf Ave. Seagate, N. Y. Beautiful grounds on waterfront. Spacious rooms, completely furnished, with bath. Reasonable rentals.

ROOMS to rent for summer season. The OLD FASHION HOUSE, Congers, N. Y. Box 153.

LITCHFIELD HILLS. For sale or summer rental two cottages, together or separately (one an old remodeled farm house) and seventy acres woods and fields, at West Cornwall, Connecticut. Six and seven rooms, baths, open fireplaces, lake nearby, extensive view. Phone Miss Kirchwey, COrtlandt 7-3330.

FOUR room bungalow, all conveniences. Private swimming, tennis, handball. 30 miles from City. Unusually desirable. Call STuyvesant 9-5956.

ROCKAWAY—Beautifully furnished 3 room apartment, facing ocean, sublet summer. Piano; frigidaire; salt bath. Apt. 3 D, 122-20 Boardwalk. Belle Harbor 5-3217.

ROOM WANTED

JEWISH business couple desire suitable furnished room, preferably Bensonhurst or Flatbush section. Moderate rental. Box 610, % *The Nation.*

☐ PERSONAL ☐

WHY be discontented? Or defeated by environment? Or depressed by loneliness? Write Box 434, Spokane, Washington. Enclose postage.

HAVE you the right contacts? Congeniality can be determined by exact science. Infallible. Write Box 74, Station H, New York.

☐ MEETING ☐

Hunter College Alumnae

- Civil rights and freedom of expression are being abrogated in your alma mater.
- Hear the five students suspended for anti-war activities present their case.
- Bring your friends.

Tuesday, May 28th—8:30 p.m.
Community Church 550 W. 110th St.

☐ OPEN SHELF ☐

BOOK BARGAINS

ALL BOOKS NEW AS ISSUED

Sex in Prison, Fishman, Illus. (3.00)	1.00
The Paris Gun, Miller, Illus. (4.00)	1.69
Henri Barbusse, On Russia (2.50)	.98
J. B. Cabell, Beyond Life (2.50)	.98
Dostoevsky, Andre Gide (2.50)	1.39
Kafka, Wall of China (2.50)	.89
E. E. Cummings, Enormous Room. Only	1.00
Anton Dvorak, Hoffmeister (2.50)	1.29
Richard Strauss, Franz Newman	.98
Marie Antoinette, Stefan Zweig	1.00
Claude Debussy, Franz Liebich	.98
Roget's Thesaurus. Complete Ed. Only	.98
Songs of Bilitis, Louys. Illus.	.94
Postage 8c per volume—Catalogs	
Lady Chatterly's Lover, Lawrence	.94
Marquis De Sade, Justine. Illus.	2.98

327 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.
BLACKFRIARS PRESS

READERS of the unusual and bizarre in literature will write for our free catalogue. All books drastically reduced.
PANDORA Book Co., 24 W. 20th St., N. Y. C.

CHARLES' Specializes — Out-of-print books; Back numbers magazines (National Geographics). Americana catalog. 765 Sixth Ave., N. Y.

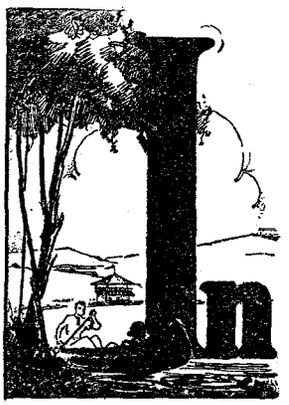
Birth Control
SEND ONLY 10c
For valuable book, "The Safe Period: The Natural Method of Birth Control," by Dr. W. J. Robinson, world-famous authority. Gives facts and definite information in clear, simple language. Order at once while supply lasts at unusual low price of only 10c.
Eugenics Pub. Co., Dept. P74, 317 E. 34th St., N. Y. C.

☐ PROFESSIONAL SERVICES ☐

J. G. EDMONDS, LITERARY AGENT
Marketing on commission. No advance charged.
5639 Rippey St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(or 108 W. 85th St., N. Y.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

□ CAMPS □



In a few weeks you will know the complete story of the most important event in Unity House history . . . the story of a vastly improved development. *But the news is so vital,* we could not resist this initial announcement.

So, hear ye, all who have been guests and friends of Unity House: On June 15th the new Unity House will be ready to accommodate guests for the 1935 season; the official opening is scheduled the week-end of June 21st. A completely new project, modern in every detail, awaits you this year. A main building, with a spacious dining hall, office, lounge, tea room-bar and open air verandah, offering a full view of the lake and the Pocono mountains. . . . A modern, fireproof building for guest accommodations with all the latest improvements. . . . A half dozen cozy cottages, newly built, nestling close by the lake. . . . New paths and roads have been constructed and a shorter gradual slope to the lake has completely eliminated the old steep climb. *There is more news,* much more, about improvements in facilities for athletics, recreation and entertainment, but for this you must be patient until you hear from us again in a few weeks.

COMMITTEE AND MANAGEMENT.

UNITY HOUSE

FOREST PARK, PA. N. Y. O.: 3 W. 16th St. 1008 Cherry St., Phila.

Unity House is owned and operated by the I. L. G. W. U. on a non-profit basis.

WILLIAM E. LESCAZE, architect of the new Unity House, is a prominent member of the International Congress of Modern Architects. Construction by HEVEMAN - HARRIS COMPANY, builders of Radio City, New York.

Health, Pleasure, Sport, Recreation.
Enjoy Decoration weekend in the picturesque Catskills.

SCHILDKRAUT'S LAKEVUE LODGE
Livingston Manor, N. Y.

Special 4 day rate from Thursday to Sunday, inclusive **$12.50**

Low rates for June

CAMP TAMIMENT
TAMIMENT PENNSYLVANIA

DECORATION DAY WEEK-END

4 DELIGHTFUL DAYS for $15 Wednesday Supper to Sunday Dinner May 29th-June 2nd Daily Rate $4.50

FOR YOUR SUMMER VACATION DEBUT—
Spend this extended week-end at Tamiment—Tennis, Swimming Canoeing, Dancing. Special Holiday Stage Program. Full Screen Talking Pictures.

JUNE RATE: $24 PER WEEK

INFORMATION: 7 E. 15th St., New York. ALgonquin 4-6875

Copy for classified advertisements must reach us Friday, for the next issue, on account of the Holiday next week.

Films

Through the Closet Door

THE past week has been chiefly notable for releasing almost all at once the deluge of horror which has been gathering in the Hollywood studios since the success of "Dracula" and "Frankenstein" a few seasons ago. With monumental effigies of vampires, werewolves, and Frankensteinian monsters glaring down upon one at every step along its way, Broadway has taken on an almost medieval appearance. Of the four specimens of the genre open to selection this column chose, for no particular reason, to expose itself to the one entitled "The Werewolf of London," in which Henry Hull is to be seen as a famous London biologist who, in quest of a certain rare flower in the center of Thibet, contracts a very bad case of what will hereafter be known to all film patrons as lycanthropia. His is an especially desperate predicament because the flower that he has brought back with him to England, the sole antidote for the disease, is stolen from his laboratory by another werewolf in need of the same temporary remedy. Before our eyes Mr. Hull's hands turn into long hairy claws and his face becomes like a papier-mâché mask which someone has inadvertently sat down upon. But what is worst of all we are made to hear his blood-curdling howls as he pounces upon one after another of his victims; for it is a necessity for the werewolf, one learns from the picture, to make at least one killing in the light of the full moon to avoid becoming permanently afflicted. Another disturbing feature of the lupine blood-lust, it would appear, is that its object is always the person whom the sufferer loves most in the world. It can be seen that one of the difficulties with this particular descent into the night-soul is that the machinery of the occult and the quasi-scientific which it is necessary to build up is somewhat more than the average mind can follow with any degree of ease. It is not clear, for example, exactly why both the disease and the flower which is its antidote have a preference for the full moon. But the real objection to the film is the commonplace one that effects of horror on the stage or the screen, because they are nearly always, in Henry James's phrase, "weak specifications," are never as potent as in works of literature, where they are as illimitable as the imagination. As for the sudden and uncalled-for revival of the genre at the moment, it can only be explained as further evidence of Hollywood's determination to leave no closet door untried during its present period of embarrassment.

The nineteenth-century Spain of Mr. Von Sternberg's "The Devil Is a Woman" proves to be as original and individual and preposterous a creation as the eighteenth-century Muscovy of his "Scarlet Empress." One had thought that the masters of Spanish baroque had done pretty well themselves in the cultivation of excess. But beside the excrescences in this picture their style is marked by an austere simplicity. Against its gaudy background Marlene Dietrich moves with a trance-like imperturbability which succeeds beautifully in intensifying the consummate unreality of the whole. "Break of Hearts" (Radio City Music Hall) wastes the talents of Katharine Hepburn, Charles Boyer, and John Beal in a long, absent-minded chronicle of the love difficulties of a symphony conductor and a young woman composer from Wisconsin. Despite every effort on the part of the players to fan the story into some semblance of life, it remains inert, colorless, and indisputably defunct.

WILLIAM TROY

[The price of "Poems, et Cetera," by David Greenhood, is $1, not $2 as stated in a previous issue.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED